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THE
HISTORY

THIRTY YEARS WAR
IN
GERMANY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN

FREDERICK SCHILLER

BY

MAITREY BLAQUIERE

REVISED BY G. H.

ROBERTSON AND CHARLES JUGEL

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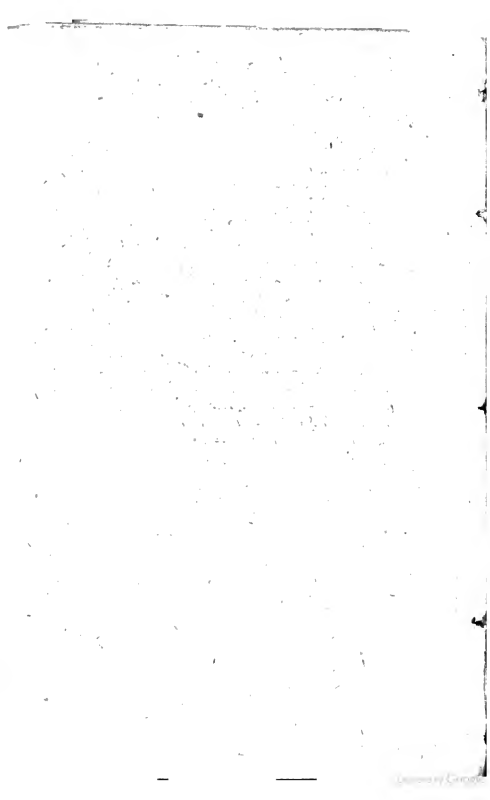
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HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK I.

SINCE the commencement of the religious disputes in Germany, there was scarcely any event of importance in which the Reformation had not the principal share. Every circumstance during this period, if not immediately arising from the Reformation, is more or less connected with it; and all states, of whatever limits or importance, have more or less experienced its influence.

The House of Austria levelled almost the entire force of its political strength against the new doctrines and their adherents. The Reformation had kindled the flames of civil war in France, and, during four boisterous administrations, reduced that kingdom to the last extremity, introduced foreign troops, and rendered it, during half a century, a scene of the most melancholy devastation. It was the Reformation which rendered the Spanish yoke insupportable in the Netherlands, excited among that people the courage to assert their independence, and principally afforded them strength for that undertaking. All

the designs of Philip II. against Elizabeth queen of England arose from his desire of revenge against her for having taken under her protection his Protestant subjects, and put herself at the head of a religious party which he laboured to annihilate. The division of the church in Germany was succeeded by a lasting political one, which rendered the Empire a scene of the greatest confusion for more than a century, but which also erected an effectual barrier to oppression. It was the Reformation which first drew the northern powers, Sweden and Denmark, into the political system of Europe; the assistance of those two kingdoms having become indispensably necessary to the Protestant powers. States which hitherto were scarcely known, began, by means of the Reformation, to unite themselves by a sympathy in politics: and according as citizens among themselves, and princes among their subjects, began to assume the appearance of opposition, entire kingdoms were opposed to each other in situations hitherto unknown to them; and thus, by the extraordinary nature of circumstances, the union of states was produced by their religious dissensions.

The consequences of those dissensions were destructive and dreadful before this universal political sympathy was effected. A thirty years war, which from the interior of Bohemia to the mouth of the Scheld, from the banks of the Po to the coasts of the Baltic, desolated countries, destroyed the harvests, and laid towns and villages in ashes: a war in which above three hundred thousand combatants sacrificed their lives, extinguished during half a century the rising progress of civilization in Germany, and reduced

the improving manners of the people to their ancient barbarism.

Europe found itself, however, at the conclusion of this war, free and independent, after having for the first time erected a balance of power; and that admirable institution, which is certainly owing to this war, may serve with the philanthropist as a sufficient atonement for the miseries which it occasioned. The hand of industry has gradually effaced its ravages, while its benign influence still survives; and the war which arose from the troubles of Bohemia, terminated in a peace which is still guaranteed by the balance of power that it produced: and thus, while the flames of devastation from the interior of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, found means to extend themselves to Germany and France, the influence of the civilization of the latter countries has been extended to other nations.

Religion was the original cause of those events; the possibility of circumstances was owing to it alone: but it was by no means the *sole* motive of the war. Had not private interests and state prejudices been closely connected with it, neither the arguments of theologians, the voice of the people, nor the Protestant doctrines, could ever have found such numerous and obstinate champions. The Reformation was doubtless occasioned by the invincible force of truth, and by opinions held for such. The abuses of the old church, the dissolute lives of many of its clergy, and the rapacity of its pretensions, must naturally have excited a disgust which tended to render a reformation in religion highly popular. The pleasures of independence, the riches of ecclesiastical in-

stitutions, gave charms to a reformation in the eyes of princes, which heightened their inward conviction of its other benefits. But political considerations alone were sufficient to compel them to espouse it. Had not Charles V. in the intoxication of success, made an attempt on the independence of the German princes, a Protestant league would have with difficulty taken up arms in defence of the faith; without the ambition of the Guises, the Calvinists of France could never have found at their head a Condé or a Coligny; without the imposition of the tenth or twentieth penny, never had the see of Rome lost the United Netherlands. Princes contended for self-defence or aggrandizement, while enthusiasm recruited their armies, and opened to them the treasures of their subjects; such as did not follow their standards from mercenary motives, imagined that they shed their blood for their religion, though it was in reality for the interest of their princes.

It was happy for the people, that upon this occasion their interests were united with those of their rulers; to this circumstance alone they were indebted for their deliverance from popery. It was also a fortunate circumstance for princes, that the subject, while combating for their interests, also promoted his own. During that age no sovereign in Europe reigned with a power so absolute as to enable him to contradict the opinion of his subjects in the pursuit of his interests, and it was extremely difficult to gain their affections. The most effectual reasons of state have little effect upon the minds of the vulgar, who seldom understand, and are still more

rarely interested in them; in such circumstances a prudent prince can only unite the interest of the cabinet with that of his subjects, or at least colour it with that pretext.

Such, however, were the circumstances in which the princes concerned in the Reformation found themselves. By a peculiar chain of events, the division of the church was united with two circumstances, without which the conclusion would have been wholly different; the increase of power of the House of Austria, and its active zeal for the old religion. The one aroused the princes, and the other armed the people.

The abolition of a foreign tribunal in their own territories, the supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, the abolition of sending money to Rome, and the ample treasures of the church, afforded tempting advantages to every sovereign; and it appears at first view strange why they were not equally so to the princes of the House of Austria. What should have prevented that House, particularly its German line, from listening to the voice of a number of its subjects, and aggrandizing itself, after the example of others, at the expense of a defenceless clergy? It is difficult to imagine that the conviction of the infallibility of the church of Rome had a greater effect in producing the steady perseverance of this House, than the opposite persuasion had upon the Protestant princes. But several circumstances combined to incline the House of Austria to support popery; Spain and Italy, from whence the power of Austria derived its principal support, yielded to Rome that blind obedience which had distinguished the Spaniards since the Gothic ages. The

smallest inclination to the obnoxious tenets of Luther and Calvin would have irrecoverably lost to the government of Spain the attachment of its subjects. A Spanish king had no alternative between abdication and orthodoxy. He laboured under similar difficulties in his Italian dominions, where he was obliged to treat his subjects with still greater indulgence, as they were not only more impatient of a foreign yoke, but also possessed easier means of throwing it off. To this were added the claims of France on those countries, and the near residence of the Pope; motives sufficient to prevent him from declaring himself for a party which professed the annihilation of popery, and which bound him to exert himself with the most active zeal for the old religion. These general views by which the Spanish monarchy was influenced, were still further strengthened by particular ones. Charles V. had in Italy a dangerous rival in the king of France, when that country threw itself under the latter's protection, while Charles had rendered himself suspected of heresy. From similar circumstances a rupture with the church would now be entirely disadvantageous. When Charles had his choice of either religion, the new as yet had not acquired such great influence, and there was still a prospect of its reconciliation with the old. During the administration of his son and successor, Philip II. a monastic education united with a gloomy despotic disposition to render that prince a determined enemy of all innovations in the faith; prejudices which the circumstances of his most formidable political enemy, being also the enemy of his religion, were not calculated to weaken; as his

widely spread European territories lay open to the influence of foreign opinions, the progress of the Reformation would not be an object of indifference to him; and his immediate interests required a close attachment to the old faith, in order to check the new heresy. Affairs naturally placed this prince at the head of the league which the Catholics formed against the adherents of the new doctrines. The maxims which were adopted during the active reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. remained in force during that of their successors; and in proportion as the division of the church augmented, the attachment of Spain was increased for the old religion.

The German line of the House of Austria appeared to be more free; but though many of those obstacles were removed, it was still bound by others. The possession of the Imperial throne by a heretic was impossible, (for how could an apostate from the church possess that dignity?) and bound the successors of Ferdinand I. to popery. Ferdinand himself was conscientiously attached to the church; the German princes of the House of Austria were besides not sufficiently powerful to dispense with the assistance of Spain, from all hope of which they excluded themselves by favouring the new doctrines: besides, their dignity required them to maintain the political system of the Empire, that confirmed their own power, which the Protestants endeavoured to abridge. If, besides, we consider the coldness of the Protestants towards the wants of the Emperor, and towards the common dangers of the Empire, their exorbitant usurpations on the temporalities of the

church, and their violence when they felt their own strength, we can easily perceive the grounds upon which the Emperor was attached to popery, and the motives on which he united his own interests with those of the Catholic religion. As the fate of this religion was determined perhaps by the division of Austria, all Europe regarded the princes of that House as the pillars of popery; the hatred of the Protestants against the latter was universally turned to Austria, and the cause was gradually confounded with the protector. Every warlike preparation of Spain or the Emperor was for the destruction of the Protestants; every campaign against these two powers was a war against monkery and the inquisition.

But by this very House of Austria, the inveterate enemy of the Reformation, were the liberties of Europe exposed to no small danger by its ambitious projects, particularly the German states. The latter must by this have been aroused from their security; and rendered attentive to their self-defence; their ordinary resources would never have enabled them to resist so formidable a power; extraordinary exertions must be required from their subjects; and even those not being sufficient, they were constrained to have recourse to foreign powers, and, by a confederacy among themselves, oppose a power which they were singly unable to resist.

But the strongest political considerations which the sovereigns had to oppose to the pretensions of Austria were not extended to the people; the people are animated only by immediate advantages or immediate evils, and a sound policy can never reckon upon these. It would also have

been ill with those princes, if another powerful motive had not offered itself, which excited the passions of the people, and inspired them with an enthusiasm which directed itself against their political danger connected with it. This motive was the declared hatred against the religion which Austria protected and the enthusiastic admiration of a doctrine which that House by fire and sword endeavoured to extirpate. This attachment was ardent, that hatred invincible. Enthusiasm fears distant calamities, and fanaticism never calculates its sacrifices; the most pressing dangers of the state were not so powerful in exciting the people to action as religious prejudices: few would have voluntarily taken up arms for the interests of the prince or the state; but for religion, the merchant, the farmer, the artisan, readily armed themselves: while they would have murmured against the smallest extraordinary impositions for the prince or the state, they readily embarked their lives and fortunes in the cause of religion. The treasures and armies of princes were immensely augmented; and in the ferment excited by the dangers to which religion was exposed, no burden was felt by the subject, who in cooler moments would have sunk under its weight. The terrors of the Spanish inquisition and of Bartholomew's night, procured for the Prince of Orange, the Admiral Coligny, the British Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, resources among their subjects which are inconceivable.

With all possible exertions they would, however, have effected little against a power which was alone an overmatch for the most powerful

prince. At that period an imperfect policy only induced distant states to their mutual succour; the diversity of government, laws, language, manners, and national character, which divided the one nation from the other; rendered them insensible to their mutual distresses when they were not excited by a prospect of indemnification at the expense of their enemy; the Reformation heightened their bond of union; a more lively interest than national prejudices or patriotism appeared, independently of individual interests, to actuate the people. These interests were capable of binding the most distant states, though they sometimes lost their force among the subjects of the same country. The French Calvinist possessed with reformed inhabitant of Geneva, of England, Germany, or Holland, a rallying point which he had not with his own Catholic fellow-citizen. The good fortune of the Flemish arms, borne for liberty, afforded them greater pleasure than the triumph of their own sovereign in the cause of popery. In consequence, the citizen ceased in a very important particular to confine his views entirely to his own country; his views were extended, and from the destiny in foreign regions of his religion he began to calculate his own. At this period, for the first time, princes were enabled to bring foreign politics before their assembly of states, and hope for a speedy assistance. The Palatine relinquishes his native country to assist his French religious associate; the French subject draws his sword against his country, and flies to the assistance of Holland's freedom; Swiss is now seen against Swiss, German against German; and the succession of France

is decided on the banks of the Seine and Loire; the Dane crosses the Eider, the Swede the Baltic, to break the chains which were forged for Germany.

The interest of religion first introduced this sympathy among states, but their effects were speedily converted to politics; the union which secured them against religious, also secured them against political oppression; the princes possessed resources for their self-defence by these means, even independent of the people. While an armed power defended toleration in Germany, a German Emperor could not infringe the constitution, nor oppress the states of the Empire; while the same power protected the constitution, toleration remained unmolested. The views of the subject coincided with those of the people under those circumstances.

It is difficult to say what the fate of the Reformation and of Germany would have been, had not the formidable power of Austria declared against them. It appears however certain, that nothing prevented the Austrian princes from attaining universal monarchy so much as the obstinate war which they waged with the new religious doctrines. Under no other circumstances could the weaker princes excite their subjects to such efforts to withstand the Austrian power, or the states unite among themselves.

The Austrian power was never greater than after the victory which Charles V. obtained over the Germans at Muehlberg. By the treaty of Smalkalde the German liberties appeared ruined; but they revived in Maurice of Saxony, their once dangerous enemy. All the fruits of the victory

at Muehlberg terminated in the congress at Passau and the assembly of Augsburg; and every scheme for religious and civil oppression ended in a favourable peace.

Germany, by the assembly of Augsburg, was divided into two civil and religious parties: until then the Protestants were regarded as criminal deserters, but now they were treated as brothers, though more from fear than affection. The confession of Augsburg was now permitted to rival the Catholic religion, but still only as a tolerated neighbour; each state had the privilege of establishing any religion, to the exclusion of every other in its territories; every subject was permitted to leave a territory where his religion was not tolerated. From this period the doctrines of Luther received a positive sanction, and, though prohibited in Austria and Bavaria, they triumphed in Saxony and Thuringia. The sovereigns alone possessed the choice of a religion; no provision was made for the subject, who in this diet had no representative; in ecclesiastical territories alone the Catholic and the Protestant subject was allowed the free exercise of his religion; yet this indulgence was only upon the personal assurance of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, who affected this peace; an assurance which, however, the Catholic powers formally contradicted in the treaty, and which, of course, was not sanctioned as a law.

Did their divisions exist only in opinion, they would be regarded with indifference; but on those opinions depended riches, rank, and rights, a circumstance which rendered the breach irreparable; brothers who had hitherto lived in amity,

now divided the paternal house; the father could not have provided for this unforeseen separation. From the benevolence of their ancestors, the riches of the church had been augmented during a thousand years, and ancestors belonged to the dead as well as the living. Was the right of inheritance attached to the paternal house, or to blood? The Catholic church awarded it to the first-born, because then the only son. But it might be questioned whether the Catholic church could establish the right of primogeniture as among noble families, or whether one party was to be favoured because no other was as yet opposed to it? It might also be questioned whether the Catholics were entitled to exclude the Protestants from the enjoyment of possessions, because the latter did not exist at their institution? Both parties have long disputed, and still dispute, upon these subjects with plausible arguments; both have found it equally difficult to establish the justice of their cause upon rational grounds; and to those religious foundations do not perhaps belong, especially; such as are dogmatically grounded; a perpetual gift can scarce be made by a changeable opinion.

What cannot be decided by equity, is decided by strength, as was the case in the present instance; the one part maintained what it could not be deprived of, the other defended what remained to it; all the bishoprics and abbies which had been secularized previous to the peace remained with the Protestants, but the Catholics provided against any being afterwards secularized. Every possessor of an ecclesiastical foundation which was subject to the Catholics, for-

feited his benefice and dignity upon his embracing the Protestant faith; he was immediately upon that event obliged to abandon his possessions, and the chapter proceeded to a new election, as if he had vacated by death. The Catholic church in Germany is still fastened to his sacred anchor of spiritual reserve, which makes the temporal existence of a Catholic prince depend entirely on his adherence to his religion; and it must be acknowledged that, without this anchor, the state of that religion would be very precarious. The ecclesiastical reserve met with a violent opposition from the Protestants; and though inserted in the treaty of peace, it was expressly mentioned that both parties had not settled on this point. Did it bind the Protestants more than the assurance of Ferdinand to tolerate the formed religion, did the Catholics? Thus two radical points of the treaty remained undecided, and by this means the war was renewed.

Such was the state of toleration and of ecclesiastical benefices; it was the same with rights and dignities. The government of the Empire accounted only for one religion, because one only had originally existed; the church had divided and the diet separated into two parties, and yet the same government would acknowledge but one religion. All the Emperors were hitherto of the Romish church, because no other religion had existed; but did the connexion with Rome depend upon the Emperor, or the Empire, which he represented? The Protestant party also belonged to the Empire, and how could they be properly represented by a succession of Catholic Emperors? The supreme tribunal was composed of the Ger-

man states, who were their own judges; and its institution required it to dispense equal justice to all: could this institution be maintained if both parties were not admitted to share in it? That the Catholic religion alone existed at the period of this institution, was merely accidental. To prevent any one estate from oppressing another was the original design of it; but this design is violated when one religious party is suffered to prescribe laws for the other. Must the original intention be abandoned because accident had changed circumstances? Finally, with great difficulty the Protestants procured a seat in the supreme council, but still could not obtain an equal number of voices. No Protestant prince has hitherto mounted the imperial throne.

With regard to the equality which should have been instituted at the peace of Augsburg between both religions, the Catholic still maintained the advantage; all the Lutherans obtained was toleration; the Catholics even made this sacrifice more from necessity than justice; there was as yet no peace between two equal powers, only a truce between the sovereign and unconquered rebels; and this opinion seemed to regulate the proceedings of the Catholics against the Protestants. It was still a great crime to go over to the Protestant religion, while so great a forfeiture was imposed by the spiritual reserve upon such Catholic princes as abandoned their faith. Even in succeeding periods the Catholic church preferred risking the loss of every thing by force rather than yield the smallest matter voluntarily to justice; there was yet a hope of regaining their former authority, and its loss was still re-

garded as accidental. But an abandoned pretension, a right formerly yielded to the Protestants, wounded the Catholic church in its most tender point, its infallibility, which suffers no other religion. Even the religious peace did not abolish these sentiments; concessions were not upon that occasion made unconditionally to the Protestants; affairs were only to remain as they were until the next general council, which was to be employed in effecting a reconciliation between both religions. It was only in case this last design did not succeed, that the religious treaty was to be considered as valid; and notwithstanding the improbability of such a reconciliation, which the Catholics themselves could scarcely hope for, they looked upon it as an advantage to have thrown obstacles in the way of this peace.

Thus the religious peace, which should have extinguished the flame of civil war, was only a temporary truce, a work of force and necessity, dictated neither by just ideas of religion or toleration. A peace of the latter sort the Catholics were unable to grant, and it must also be confessed it was such a one as the Protestants did not yet fully comprehend. So far from displaying any moderation to the Catholics, they even oppressed the Calvinists when in their power; but the latter scarce merited a tolerance which they were not themselves disposed to practise. Matters were not as yet prepared for a complete religious peace. Was it possible to require from others what they could not suffer themselves to grant? What either party lost or gained by the treaty of Augsburg, they might ascribe to force, and the accidental situation in which both stood

at its conclusion. What was obtained by force must be maintained by it. In order to preserve the peace, the strength of both parties must have remained unimpaired. With sword in hand the boundaries of both churches were traced; and with that weapon they must be guarded, or unfortunate it was for the party soonest disarmed; a doubtful, melancholy prospect for the tranquillity of Germany, which the peace itself endangered!

A momentary tranquillity now took place in this Empire, and a temporary concord seemed to heal its divisions and restore the public good. But those divisions were radical, and to restore the original harmony was almost impossible. Notwithstanding the exactness with which the peace defined the boundaries of both parties, pretexts were not wanting to evade them. In the midst of hostilities a sudden cessation of arms had covered the flames of war, but not extinguished them; and both parties still maintained their pretensions. The Catholics imagined they had lost too much, the Protestants thought they had gained too little; and both endeavoured to put a construction on the peace calculated to favour their respective prejudices.

The seizure of the ecclesiastical benefices, the mighty motive which induced the Protestant princes to embrace Luther's doctrines, was equally strong after the peace as it had been previous to it, and such as was not already in their possession must speedily yield to them. All the north of Germany was already secularized; and the violent resistance of the Catholics, who retained the advantage in Upper Germany, alone prevented that part of the Empire from following its

example. Each party exercised oppression where it prevailed; the ecclesiastical princes especially, the most defenceless part of the Empire, were particularly anxious concerning the aggrandizement of their Protestant neighbours; such as were too weak to repel force by force, had recourse to justice; and the complaints made against the rapacity of the Protestants were numerous before the council of the Empire, which was very liberal in its decrees against them, but which not being enforced, were of no avail. The peace, which yielded religious toleration, had provided for the subject by leaving him in quiet possession of the country in which he professed his religion. But for the violence which the prince exercised against any of his obnoxious subjects, for the numerous vexations which were practised upon such as desired to emigrate, for snares artfully laid, in which malice was combined with power, the dead letter of this peace afforded no effectual remedy.

The Catholic subjects of Protestant princes complained loudly of violations of the religious peace; the Protestants were still louder in exclaiming against the oppressions to which they were exposed under their Catholic superiors. Every incident was embittered by the disputes and animosities of theologians, which of however little consequence in themselves, yet served to inflame the minds of the people. It would have been fortunate had they confined their mutual rage among themselves, without communicating it to their fellow-citizens.

The unanimity of the Protestants would have been the means of preserving an equal balance

between both parties, and thereby prolonging the peace; but, to increase the general confusion, their union was but of short duration. The doctrines preached by Zwingli in Zurich, and Calvin in Geneva, began to spread with rapidity in Germany, and to divide the Protestants into two parties, and they soon were to be recognized by no other similitude than their mutual hatred against popery. The Protestants of this period no longer resembled those who sixty years before had established their confession; and the cause of this circumstance is owing to that confession itself. By confining the Protestant faith within certain limits before the general spirit of inquiry had satiated itself, it deprived the Protestants of many of the advantages which they promised themselves by renouncing popery. Complaints against the Romish hierarchy and the abuses of that church, a rooted disapprobation of its doctrines, might have been sufficient to have afforded a point of union to the Protestants; but they sought this rallying point in a creed entirely new, in which they concentrated the distinctions, the advantages, and the existence of their church, and to this transferred the convention which they had formed with the Catholics. They were interested in the peace merely as partisans of the confession; all the benefits of the peace were shared by the immediate followers of that confession; but whatever might be the event, it must be equally to the disadvantage of those followers. Were the statutes of the confession rigidly adhered to, the spirit of inquiry was effectually suppressed, and the rallying point was lost if they should dispute concerning formalities. Unfortun-

nately, both those events took place, and their evil consequences became manifest; one party stedfastly adhered to the original confession; and if the Calvinists abandoned it, it was only to confine themselves with equal rigidity to a new religious system.

A more plausible pretext the Protestants could not have afforded their common enemy, than this disunion among themselves; nor could they have exhibited to them a more pleasing spectacle than the animosity with which they alternately persecuted each other. Who could condemn the Catholics for throwing a ridicule upon the effrontery with which the Reformers propagated the new religion, when Protestants turned their own weapons against each other? nor can they be reasonably condemned if, amid this contradiction of opinions, they stedfastly adhered to the authority of their church, which was sanctioned by superior antiquity, and more generally diffused.

By those divisions the Protestants were brought into entire confusion. The peace was properly extended only to the adherents of the confession, and the Catholics now demanded from them a declaration concerning the sentiments of the other Protestants. The Lutherans could not admit those of the reformed religion into their communion without offending their conscience; they could not exclude them from it without converting a useful ally into a dangerous enemy. By their unfortunate division the intrigues of the Jesuits were enabled to create jealousies between both parties, and disturb their measures. Through the double dread of the Catholics and their own Protestant opponents, the Protestants lost irrecover-

ably the opportunity of establishing their own church upon an equal footing with the Catholic. All those difficulties would have been avoided, and they might with safety have separated from the church of Rome, had they placed their rallying point at a greater distance from popery, and not in the confession of Augsburg.

But however divided they were in other matters, they generally agreed that their security, which was owing to a just balance of power, must be maintained by that balance. The continual reforms of the one party, and the opposition of the other, rendered both vigilant, and the observance of the religious treaty was an object of perpetual dispute. While the one party defended their own innovations, under pretext of maintaining the treaty, they would admit of no indulgence towards their opponents. All the measures of the Catholics had not a tendency to violence, as was alleged by the opposite party: many of their actions were committed in self-defence. The Protestants had shown in a very unequivocal manner what the Catholics had to expect, if they should have the misfortune to become the weaker party. The desire of the Protestants to possess themselves of the property of the church left their antagonists no hope of indulgence, magnanimity, or toleration.

But the Protestants were also pardonable in placing no confidence in the Catholics. By the perfidious and barbarous usage of the Protestants in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, by the shameful evasions of the Catholic princes, who suffered themselves to be released by the Pope

from the most sacred oaths, and by that detestable principle, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, the Catholic church had forfeited, in the eyes of all men of probity, every pretension to honour. No assurance, no oath however sacred, from a Papist, could satisfy a Protestant. How must a religious treaty be regarded, which the Jesuits throughout Germany represented as only a temporary convenience, which in Rome was solemnly reprobated? The general council, referred to at the treaty, had already been held in Trent, but, as was expected, without having effected a reconciliation between the hostile religions; and without having taken more than one step to this purpose, which was opposed by the Protestants. These were now solemnly excommunicated by the church, whose representatives the council pretended to be. Could then a profane treaty, obtained by force of arms, secure them? a treaty which depended upon a condition that directly opposed the decisions of the council. Thus a pretext was not wanting for the Catholics to infringe the treaty, did they possess sufficient power. Henceforward also the Protestants were protected only by a dread of their strength.

Other circumstances combined to increase their distrust. Spain, on which the Catholics of Germany depended for support; was engaged in a bloody war with the Flemings, which had drawn the flower of the Spanish troops to the borders of the Empire. This army could, in a short time, enter the Empire to strike some decisive blow. Germany at that period was a warlike magazine for all the powers of Europe. The

religious war had filled it with soldiers, who, in peace-time, were without occupation. So many independent princes could easily assemble armies, and, either from a desire of gain or spirit of party, hire them to foreign powers. It was with German troops Philip II. waged war against the Flemings, and with troops of the same nation that the latter defended themselves. Every such levy in Germany was a matter of alarm to the one party or the other; as they might be destined for the oppression of either. A travelling ambassador, an extraordinary popish legate, an interview of princes, an unusual incident, seemed to announce the ruin of one party or the other. Such was the situation of Germany during a period of near fifty years: the hand was laid upon the sword, and the slightest circumstance gave the alarm.

The reins of government during this memorable period were held by Ferdinand I. King of Hungary, and his excellent son Maximilian II. With a heart full of candour, with a truly heroic patience, had Ferdinand effected the religious treaty of Augsburg, and bestowed infinite pains upon the ungrateful task of reconciling both religions in the council of Trent. Abandoned by his nephew Philip of Spain, and at the same time pressed by the victorious arms of the Turks in Transylvania, it could not be expected he entertained any idea of infringing the treaty, and destroying the fruits of his own labours. The great expenses of a Turkish war, perpetually renewed, could not be sustained by the sparing supplies of his exhausted hereditary dominions. He therefore stood in want of the assistance of the Em-

pire; and the religious treaty, alone still maintained the Empire in one body. His necessities rendered the Protestant as necessary to him as the Catholic, and required him to treat both with equal justice, which, amid so many contradictory claims, was a colossal undertaking. The event was also far from answering his expectations. His indulgence to the Protestants only served to end the war with his grandson, which his death saved him the mortification of beholding. His son Maximilian was not more fortunate, whom the circumstances of the times, and a longer life, perhaps, prevented from establishing the new religion upon the Imperial throne. The father experienced the necessity of indulgence to the Protestants: necessity and moderation dictated the same to the son. The grandson had cause to repent for having yielded to neither of those considerations.

Maximilian left six sons, of whom the elder, the Archduke Rodolph, inherited his dominions, and ascended the Imperial throne: the others were provided with moderate incomes. A few territories appertained to the collateral branches of the house under Charles of Styria, their uncle: and even these were united with the other dominions, under his son Ferdinand II. These territories excepted, the whole considerable power of the House of Austria was united under one head, but unfortunately a weak one.

Rodolph II. was not destitute of virtues, which must have acquired him the esteem of mankind, had his lot been a private station. His character was mild, and he loved peace and the sciences, particularly astronomy, natural history, and

the study of antiquities. To these he applied himself with a vehement zeal, at a period when the critical situation of circumstances demanded the utmost vigilance; and while his exhausted finances required economy, his attention was diverted from state affairs, and he was betrayed into the most extravagant profusion. His taste for astronomy degenerated into astrological reveries, as generally happens with timid and melancholy dispositions. This, and a Spanish education, rendered him attentive to the advice of the Jesuits, and the persuasions of the Spanish court, by which he was at length entirely ruled. Governed by tastes which little suited the dignity of his character, and terrified by ridiculous prophecies, after the Spanish custom, he dissipated his time before his subjects, amid gems and antiques, in the laboratory, and in the stables. While the Empire fell into the most dangerous divisions, and the flames of rebellion already began to shake the throne to its centre, all access to his person was so forbidden, that it was necessary to be disguised as a groom in order to approach him. The most important concerns were neglected: the prospect of inheriting the crown of Spain was lost by his hesitating to espouse the Infanta Isabella. The Empire was threatened with the most furious anarchy, because, though without heirs himself, he could not be prevailed upon to elect a king of the Romans. The states of Austria renounced their allegiance; Transylvania and Hungary declared themselves independent; an example which was soon after followed by Bohemia. The posterity of the once so formidable Charles V. lay in danger of having one part of

their dominions wrested from them by the Turks, another by the Protestants, and to sink under a powerful coalition of princes which a great monarch of Europe had formed against them. The events in the interior of Germany were such as usually occurred when the Imperial throne was either not filled, or filled without dignity. Opposed or unsupported by the head of the Empire, its states, united for their mutual defence and confederacies, supplied the want of Imperial authority. Germany was divided into two leagues, which were opposed to each other in arms: Rodolph, a despicable opponent of the one, and an impotent protector of the other, remained inactive between both, equally incapable of defeating the former, or commanding the latter. What could the German Empire expect from a prince who was not even capable of maintaining his hereditary dominions against internal enemies?

To save the House of Austria from total destruction, this unfortunate Emperor's own family rose against him; and a powerful party was formed under his brother. Driven from his hereditary dominions, nothing remained for him to lose but the Imperial dignity, and it was only a timely death that saved him from this last disgrace.

It was the evil genius of Germany which at this critical conjuncture, when only an active prudence and a more powerful arm could maintain the peace of the Empire, gave it a Rodolph for Emperor. At a more tranquil period the political system of Germany would have maintained itself, and Rodolph, like so many others of his rank, might have concealed his weakness

in a mysterious obscurity. Germany required a sovereign who by his own resources could give weight to his decisions; and Rodolph's hereditary dominions, however considerable, were now in a situation which caused the greatest embarrassment.

The Austrian princes were Catholics, and supporters of popery: but their territories were by no means generally attached to that religion. The new doctrines were introduced among them, and having been favoured by Ferdinand's necessities and Maximilian's moderation, they had made a rapid progress. The territories of Austria bore a resemblance in miniature to the Empire at large. The great lords and gentry were mostly Protestants, and the latter were by far the most numerous in the cities. When they were able to introduce any of their adherents into the country, all places of trust, and the magistracy, were imperceptibly filled with Protestants, and the Catholics excluded from them. To oppose the great lords and gentry, together with the city deputies, the voice of a few bishops was too weak, and, by the contempt and ridicule of the former, prevented them from appearing in the national diet. Thus were the whole of the Austrian dominions gradually rendered Protestant, and the Reformation made rapid strides to its public establishments. The prince was dependant upon the states, who had it in their power to refuse or grant him supplies. They accordingly profited by the necessities of Ferdinand and his son, to obtain a toleration from them. At length Maximilian granted to the great lords and barons the free exercise of their religion, but con-

fined it to their territories and castles. To have conceded a similar privilege to the cities and market-towns would have been equivalent to a total abolition of the Catholic religion: and this Emperor was too much controlled by Spain and Rome to venture upon so important a step for the benefit of the Protestants. By having maintained his authority against the lower orders of the Protestants, and divided them from the nobility, by preserving popery unimpaired in the cities and market-towns, he hoped to have checked the future encroachments of the nobles. The blind enthusiasm of the Protestant preachers disregarded these prudent measures. Though expressly forbidden, several of them publicly preached not only in market-towns, but even in Vienna, and the people flocked in crowds to hear these discourses, which were distinguished only by the most outrageous insolence and abusive language. The lords and barons threw open their churches to the multitude, without attending to the orders of Maximilian, which restricted the toleration of religion to themselves and their vassals. By these polemical pulpit arguments fanaticism was increased, and the mutual hatred of both churches was empoisoned by their intemperate zeal.

In the midst of these abuses Maximilian died, and bequeathed to his son his territories thus torn by divisions. The Protestant religion, though oppressed by the laws, was in reality the reigning one, as it prevailed among the states, who prescribed rules to the sovereign. It was daily making proselytes, and threatened, with the assistance of the other German Protestants, totally

to annihilate the Catholic faith, in whose ruin that of the House of Austria was also involved. Rodolph now began to oppose this impending storm, and laboured by stratagem as well as force to effect a counterreformation. The churches forcibly seized by the Protestants were shut up; the religious toleration of the nobility, whenever abused, was put under restrictions; and the Protestants were gradually removed from their offices in the country, and replaced by Catholics. The prelates were now encouraged to appear in the national diet, and the Catholics obtained the superiority. Their diffidence and dread of the Protestants were restored; and thinking their destruction resolved on, their vigilance was awakened, and they began to look around them for foreign assistance. The combustibles of inward insurrection were prepared, which only awaited to be kindled into an explosion.

Among the hereditary dominions of Austria, Hungary and Transylvania were the most difficult to be kept in subjection. The impossibility of maintaining those countries against the superior power of the Turks had already prevailed upon Ferdinand to adopt the dishonourable expedient of subsidizing the Porte to acknowledge his authority over them: — a dangerous confession of his weakness, and a still more dangerous temptation to the turbulent nobility to rebel upon every pretext. The Hungarians had not unconditionally submitted to the House of Austria. They maintained the privilege of electing their kings, and firmly insisted upon all the prerogatives attached to that right of election. The vicinity of the Turkish empire, and the ease with which they

could change their masters, encouraged the magnats* in their presumption: dissatisfied with the Austrian government, they threw themselves into the arms of the Turks; disgusted with this yoke, they returned to their allegiance under Austria. But they suffered their German masters to make dear sacrifices for the preference which was given them. Their frequent and sudden transitions from one government to another had divided their sentiments: and uncertain how their country stood situated between the German and Ottoman powers, they wavered between apostacy and submission. The more both countries felt the misfortune of being subjected to a foreign power, the more they were inclined to obey a sovereign of their own; and in such circumstances it was not difficult for an enterprising nobleman to gain their confidence. A rebel against his sovereign, he hastened by a politic submission to assume a merit with the opposite party, and to obtain from it an investiture of the sovereignty. This was readily granted to him, because what was lost by the enemy was regarded as an acquisition. With alacrity the next bashaw supported a rebel against Austria, and with equal eagerness did Austria bestow whatever provinces were wrested from the Turks, provided a shadow of authority was maintained, and they served as a barrier against the Ottoman power. Several of such magnats, Bathori, Boschkai, Ragoczi, and Bethlen, established themselves in Hungary and Transylvania as tributary sovereigns, and observed no other policy than that of occasionally join-

* The great lords of Hungary are so called. *Trans.*

ing the enemy, to render themselves formidable to their own prince.

Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Rodolph, who were all sovereigns of Hungary and Transylvania, exhausted the strength of their other states to secure the first from the irruptions of the Turks, and interior rebellion. Destructive wars were exchanged for short truces which were not much more advantageous: the country was laid waste, and the oppressed subject complained equally of his enemy and his protector. The Austrian soldier acted as master in the country which he defended; his subsistence, when not voluntarily given him, he exacted by force: he was assisted with reluctance, and behaved with insolence. The negligence of the Emperor, which left the country defenceless, the most important employments vacant, and the most pressing remonstrances unanswered, occasioned the loudest complaints in those as well as in his other territories: and the avarice of the fiscal, the insolence of his officers, and the licentiousness of his troops, rendered the murmurs universal.

The Reformation had also introduced itself into those countries, and supported by the protection of religious freedom, under cover of the tumult, had made a visible progress. This was now unseasonably introduced and party spirit was rendered more dangerous by fanaticism. The Transylvanian and Hungarian nobility arose; and under the command of Boschkai, a bold rebel, erected the standard of sedition. The insurgents in Hungary were prepared to unite themselves with the discontented Protestants in Austria, Moravia and Bohemia, and to commence in those countries a

dangerous rebellion. In such circumstances, the ruin of the House of Austria and of popery in those territories was inevitable.

The Archdukes of Austria, brothers to the Emperor, had long beheld the impending ruin of their family with silent sadness, but their patience was exhausted by the last events. The Archduke Matthias, Maximilian's second son, Viceroy of Hungary, and Rodolph's presumptive heir, came forward to save the House of Habsburg from total destruction. This prince in his youth, excited by a false ambition, had listened to the invitations of some Flemish rebels, who called him to their territories to defend their liberty against his own uncle; Philip II. Matthias, who mistook the invitation of a party for that of a whole people, appeared in the Netherlands; but the event contradicted the wishes of the inhabitants of Brabant as much as his own expectations, and he relinquished the undertaking without having added to his reputation. His second appearance in the political world was more honourable.

After repeated effectual remonstrances to the Emperor, he assembled the Archdukes, his brothers and cousins, at Presburg, and consulted with them upon the danger which threatened the House. His brothers unanimously yielded to him, as the eldest; the defence of a patrimony which a feeble brother neglected; all their rights and authority were vested in the hands of Matthias, and they conferred upon him the sovereign power, in order to provide for their common good. He immediately entered into a negotiation with the Turks and with the Hungarian rebels, and succeeded

by his address to save, by a peace with the Turks, the remainder of Hungary; and, by a convention with the rebels, to reserve Austria's claims to the lost provinces. But Rodolph, as jealous of his authority as he was unequal to maintain it, declined to confirm this treaty, which he regarded as a criminal encroachment upon his power. He accused the Archduke of corresponding with the enemy, and of traitorous designs upon the throne of Hungary.

The activity of Matthias was by no means free from ambitious views, but the conduct of the Emperor favoured them. Having secured the Hungarians by their gratitude for his lately obtaining them the blessings of peace, and assured of the attachment of the nobles by his emissaries; being also certain of a strong party in Austria; he began to address the Emperor in a more firm tone. The Protestants of Austria and Moravia, long prepared for revolt, and now gained over by the Archduke through a promise of toleration, openly espoused his party, and they at length effected their long threatened union with the rebellious Hungarians. A formidable conspiracy was at once formed against the Emperor; he resolved, when too late, to atone for his past faults; in vain he endeavoured to dissipate the confederacy against him; a general insurrection had taken place; Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, rendered homage to Matthias, who was already on his way from Bohemia to seize upon the Emperor in his palace, and annihilate his authority.

The kingdom of Bohemia was not a more quiet possession for Austria than Hungary; with this

difference, that in the former, religious, and in the latter, political considerations, fomented the disturbances. The first flames of religious war had broken out in Bohemia a century before Luther; and it was in that kingdom that, in a century after Luther, the flames of the thirty years war were kindled. The sect to which John Huss had given birth, still existed in Bohemia, united with the Romish church in ceremonies and doctrines, except in the single article of the communion, of which they partook in both forms; this privilege was granted to them by the council of Basle, and though afterwards prohibited by the Pope, they still continued to enjoy it under the protection of government. As the use of the chalice* constituted the principal distinction of this sect, they were distinguished by the appellation of the *Utraquists* (communicants in both forms), and in this appellation, which reminded them of their favourite privilege, they assumed a pride. But under this title were also included the stricter sects of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, which differed in more important points from the Romish church, and bore a strong resemblance to the German Protestants. Among the Germans as well as the Swiss, reformation made a rapid progress, and the name *Utraquists*, under which they concealed their innovations, served to protect them against persecution.

They in fact possessed nothing but the name in common with the *Utraquists*, and they were essentially Protestants. Full of confidence in their party, and the Emperor's tolerance, they openly

* A wonderfully important subject for a civil war! Trans.

professed their opinions under the reign of Maximilian; after the example of the Germans they established a particular catechism, in which they acknowledged both the Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines, and wished to transfer all the privileges of the Utraquist church to this new confession. This attempt met with opposition on the part of their Catholic fellowsubjects, and they were obliged to content themselves with the verbal assurance of the Emperor's protection.

During the life of Maximilian they enjoyed perfect liberty in their new form, but the scene was changed under his successor. An Imperial edict was issued, in which the Bohemian Brethren were deprived of the liberty of conscience. These differed in no instance from the Utraquists, and their condemnation must consequently have involved all the Bohemian Protestants; all united to oppose the Imperial mandate in the diet, but without being able to annul it. The Emperor and the Catholic estates referred them to the constitution of the country, where in fact their religion, which had not yet gained the voice of the whole nation, found nothing in its favour. But how much were affairs changed since the period of that constitution? what then formed but an inconsiderable sect, was now become the reigning religion of the country. And was it not chicanery to confine a new increasing religion to old regulations? The Bohemian Protestants appealed to the verbal promise of Maximilian, and the toleration granted to the Germans, to whom they would yield no preference; but all was in vain, and they met with a refusal.

Such was the state of affairs in Bohemia when Matthias, already master of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, appeared in Kollin to raise the Bohemian states against the Emperor. The embarrassment of the latter was now extreme. Abandoned by his other hereditary dominions, he had fixed his last hopes upon the states of Bohemia, who, as might be foreseen, would take advantage of his necessities to forward their claims. After an interval of many years he made his public entry into Prague at the diet, add to convince the people that he was still living, orders were given to open all the windows in the streets through which the procession passed, a sure proof of the necessity to which he was reduced. His fears were realized. The states, which now felt their own importance, refused to enter into terms without having their privileges confirmed and their religion tolerated. It was in vain to have recourse to old weapons; the Emperor's destiny lay in their hands, and he must submit to necessity. Nevertheless he yielded only to their other demands; those which concerned religion he postponed until the ensuing diet.

The Bohemians now took up arms in his defence, and a bloody civil war was expected to ensue between both brothers. But Rodolph, who feared nothing so much as a slavish dependance upon the states preferred the way of negotiation. By a formal abdication he resigned to his brother, Austria and the kingdom of Hungary, of which indeed he could not deprive him, and acknowledged him as his successor to the crown of Bohemia.

The Emperor had extricated himself at a great price from one difficulty only to involve himself in another. The religious affairs of Bohemia were referred to the next diet; this assembled in 1609. The Protestants required a free exercise of their religion, as under the late Emperor, a consistory, the cession of the university of Prague, and protectors or defenders of liberty from their own body: they were answered as formerly, for the timid Emperor was wholly governed by the Catholic party. Notwithstanding the threatening tone in which the states renewed their remonstrances, Rodolph adhered to his former declaration of not yielding to their demands; the diet dispersed without coming to any conclusion, and, exasperated against the Emperor, they concerted a general meeting in Prague, in order to redress themselves.

They accordingly appeared at Prague in great numbers. Notwithstanding the Imperial prohibition, they continued their deliberations almost before the Emperor's eyes; the condescension which he began to display, showed them how much they were an object of terror, and augmented their boldness; yet in the principal point he still remained inexorable. They fulfilled their threats, and at length resolved of their own accord to establish a toleration of their religion, and to abandon the Emperor to his necessities until he had confirmed their resolutions. They proceeded still further, and established the *defenders*, which they were refused by the Emperor. Ten were nominated from each estate; and it was immediately determined to raise an armed force, of which the principal author of this insurrection,

Count Thurn, was appointed commander. This resolution at length obliged the Emperor to yield, to which the Spaniards even advised him. Apprehensive lest the incensed states should throw themselves under the Hungarian King's protection, he signed the famous Bohemian *Letter of Majesty*, by which that people justified their insurrection under his successors.

The Bohemian confession which the states had submitted to the Emperor Maximilian, obtained in this letter an equal right with the Catholic religion. The Utraquists, as the Bohemian Protestants still continued to denominate themselves, were put in possession of the university of Prague, and obtained a consistory of their own, independent of the episcopal see of that city; all the churches which at the obtaining of this letter they possessed in the cities, market-towns, and villages, were confirmed to them; and the nobility, gentry, and magistrates, were not prohibited from erecting new ones. This last article of the *letter of majesty* is that which afterwards unfortunately kindled the flames of war throughout Europe.

The *letter of majesty* erected the Protestant part of Bohemia into a sort of republic. The states learned the strength which they had acquired by union and perseverance; the Emperor retained only a shadow of his authority: among those denominated *protectors of liberty*, the spirit of insurrection had attained a dangerous height. The example and good fortune of Bohemia afforded a strong temptation to the other states of Austria to extort similar privileges. The spirit of liberty extended from one province to another;

and as it was principally the disunion between the Austrian princes, of which the Protestants took such advantage, they now endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the Emperor and the King of Hungary.

But this reconciliation could not be sincere; the injury was too great to be forgiven, and Rodolph nourished in his bosom an irreconcilable hatred to Matthias. With regret and indignation he reflected the Bohemian sceptre would also descend to the hands of his enemy; and the prospect was not much more consoling, even though Matthias died without children: in that case, Ferdinand Archduke of Gratz, whom he equally hated, was at the head of the family. To exclude the latter, as well as Matthias, from the Bohemian succession, he formed a scheme of bequeathing that kingdom to Ferdinand's brother, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau. The prejudices of the Bohemians in favour of the elective right of their crown, and their attachment to Leopold's person, appeared favourable to this scheme, in which Rodolph was directed more by his factious disposition and vengeance, than the good of his family. In order to promote this project, a military force was wanting, which Rodolph actually assembled in the bishopric of Passau. The destination of this corps was kept secret; but an unforeseen inroad which it made into Bohemia for want of pay, and unknown to the Emperor, besides the irregularities it committed, exasperated the whole kingdom against him. In vain did he protest his innocence to the states, who did not believe his asseverations: in vain he endeavoured to contain his troops in or-

der. Persuaded that he intended to annul the letter of majesty, the *defenders of liberty* armed all the Protestants of Bohemia, and Matthias was called into the country. After the dispersion of his Passau troops, the Emperor remained in Prague, guarded like a prisoner in his palace, and deprived of all his counsellors. Matthias was received in Prague with universal acclamations, and Rodolph soon after had the pusillanimity to acknowledge him King of Bohemia. So hard was his fate, that, during his life, he must abdicate, in favour of his enemy, a throne of which he envied him the possession, even after death. To complete his humiliation, he was compelled, by a personal renunciation, to absolve his subjects in Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia, from their allegiance. This last act cost him the most bitter anguish. On his signature of the instrument, he flung his hat on the ground, and broke the pen which had rendered him that shameful service.

Having once lost his hereditary dominions, the Imperial dignity was not better secured to him. Each of the religious parties into which Germany was divided made efforts to improve its own interest, at the expense of the others, or defend itself against their attacks. The weaker the hands were which wielded the Imperial sceptre, the more the Protestants and Catholics were left at their own disposal, their attention to each other was confined, and their mutual distrust increased; it was sufficient that the Emperor reigned through Jesuits, and was governed by Spanish councils, to inspire the Protestants with terror, and afford them a pretext for hostility. The inconsiderate zeal of the Jesuits, which led them, in their pu-

blications and in the pulpit, to question the validity of the religious peace, further increased their suspicions, and gave even the most inconsiderable measures of the Catholics a dangerous appearance. Every step which was taken in the hereditary dominions of Austria to oppose the reformed religion excited the attention of all the German Protestants. This powerful support which the reformed confederates met with in Germany, or expected to find, chiefly occasioned their confidence, and the rapid good fortune of Matthias. The Empire generally imagined that the enjoyment of the religious treaty was owing to the troubles which reigned in the Emperor's territories, and consequently did not hasten to relieve him from his embarrassments.

Almost all the affairs of the diet were neglected, either by the carelessness of the Emperor, or the obstinacy of the Protestant states, which had resolved not to assist the Empire until their grievances were redressed. The grievances complained of were principally the bad administration of the Emperor, the infringement of the religious treaty, and the Aulic counsellor, who, under this administration, endeavoured to extend his authority at the expense of the Imperial chancellor. Formerly the Emperors had, of themselves in trifling matters, and with the consent of the princes in more important cases, finally decided all disputes between the states, or had them adjudged by Imperial judges. This prerogative they had, in the end of the fifteenth century, erected into a regular and permanent tribunal, the Council of Spires, to which the states of the Empire, to save themselves from the

Emperor's oppression, reserved to themselves the privilege of nominating its assessors, and subjecting its decrees to occasional revision. This privilege, which was called the *right of presentation*, was by the religious treaty conceded to the Lutherans, so that Protestant judges now sat in the courts of the Empire, and both religions, in this supreme tribunal, were placed upon an appearance of equality.

But the enemies of the Reformation, and of the liberties of the Empire, attending to every circumstance which favoured their designs, soon discovered the means of evading the beneficial effects of this establishment. By degrees it was contrived that a private tribunal, that of the Aulic Council at Vienna (originally intended to decide such cases as immediately concerned the Imperial prerogative, whose members were appointed by the Emperor, and were paid by him, whose immediate design it was to promote the interests of their master and of the Catholic religion), should dispense justice in the Empire. Several suits were now brought before the Aulic Council, between different religions, which properly belonged to the Council of Spire. It was not then surprising that the decisions of this tribunal betrayed its original intent, and that justice was sacrificed to the interests of the Catholic religion and those of the Emperor. Although it should appear that all Germany had cause to oppose such an abuse from the commencement, the Protestants alone, and even not all of these, came forward to defend the liberties of the Empire, which this arbitrary institution infringed in the

most sacred point, that of the administration of justice. In fact, Germany could derive but little benefit from the abolition of feudal violence, and the institution of a tribunal of justice, if one entirely at the disposal of the Emperor was suffered to exist. The German states would have very little improved their condition from barbarous ages, if their courts of justice lay in the Emperor's power. But in that age men's sentiments displayed the most palpable contradictions. The title of Emperor, a remnant of Roman despotism, conveyed an idea of authority which formed a ridiculous contrast with the privileges of the states, but which was nevertheless adopted by lawyers, promoted by the friends of arbitrary power, and revered by the ignorant. It could not indeed be otherwise when one of the first Protestant powers in Germany was so infatuated as to harbour an opinion which tended to destroy fundamentally the constitution of the Empire.

To these general abuses were added a chain of circumstances which at length produced the utmost distrust among the Protestants. During the Spanish persecutions in the Netherlands some Protestant families had taken refuge in the Catholic Imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they had settled, and gradually extended their principles. After having by stratagem succeeded in introducing into the town-council some of their sect, they demanded a church and the free exercise of their religion; which, however, being refused them, they obtained it, together with the entire government of the city, by force. To have so considerable a city in the hands of Protestants was too severe a blow for the Emperor and the

whole Catholic party. After the Emperor's orders and exhortations were unable to re-establish the former government, the Aulic Council, by a decree, proscribed the city; which proscription, however, was not enforced till the ensuing reign.

Two other events had a great effect in extending the power and authority of the Protestants. Truchsess of Waldburg, Elector of Cologne, conceived for the young Countess Agnes of Mansfeldt, Canoness of Gerresheim, ardent passion, which was become mutual between them. As this attachment excited the attention of all Germany, the Canoness's brothers, two zealous Calvinists, insisted upon satisfaction for the injured honour of their family, which, so long as the Elector remained a Catholic, could not be vindicated by a marriage. They threatened vengeance against their sister, and the Elector, if he did not either immediately desist from his addresses, or vindicate her reputation by marriage. The Elector, regardless of the consequences, yielded to the infatuation of love. Whether previously attached to the reformed religion, or whether it was love which effected this strange event, he renounced the Catholic faith, and led the beautiful Agnes to the altar.

This conversion was of the greatest importance. By the ecclesiastical law, the Elector, by his apostacy, had forfeited his electorate, and the power of executing these laws was of the greatest consequence to the Catholics. On the other hand, the sacrifice was the more severe for so affectionate a husband, who wished to enhance the value of his heart and his hand by the gift of a principality. Besides that the ecclesiastical regulations formed a disputed article in the

treaty of Augsburg, it was of the utmost importance for the Protestants of Germany to wrest this fourth electorate from the Catholics*. The Elector's example was followed in many chapters in the north of Germany. Several canons of Cologne already embraced the Protestant faith, and were of the Elector's party; and in that city he could depend upon a strong Protestant faction. These circumstances, enforced by the encouragement of his friends and relations, and the promises of several German courts, determined him to maintain his authority with his religion.

But it soon appeared that the Elector had engaged in a contest which he could not bring to a favourable conclusion. The Catholic states and chapters had already given the introduction of the Protestant religion into the electorate of Cologne the most violent opposition. The interference of the Emperor, and an anathema from Rome, which excommunicated the Elector as an apostate, and deprived him of his ecclesiastical and secular authority, armed his own subjects and his chapter against him. Both sides assembled a military power; and the chapter, in order to increase their strength, proceeded to a new election, which terminated in favour of the Bishop of Liege, a prince of the House of Bavaria.

A civil war now commenced, that, from the interest which the different religious factions in Germany must necessarily have had in this event, was likely to cause a breach of the religious treaty. The Protestants were chiefly exasperated at the Pope's having presumed, by his apostolic power, to deprive a prince of the Empire of his

* Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, were already Protestant. *Trans.*

authority. This privilege was denied the Pope, even in the golden days of papal darkness; and how much more so now, when he had lost so much of his authority, and his power was supported by such weak pillars? All the Protestant princes in Germany blamed the Emperor for this step; and Henry IV. of France, then king of Navarre, left no means of negotiation untried to recommend to the German princes the strenuous assertion of their rights. The liberty of Germany depended upon this circumstance: four Protestant against three Catholic voices in the electoral college must have transferred the superiority to the Protestant party, and for ever excluded the House of Austria from the Imperial throne.

But the Elector of Cologne had embraced the reformed, not the Lutheran religion; and this circumstance caused his misfortune. The mutual animosity of both churches did not permit the Lutheran states to regard him of their party, and effectually to support him as such. He had been encouraged and promised assistance by all. John Cassimir, Count Palatine, a younger prince of the Palatinate, and a Calvinist, alone performed his promise. Notwithstanding the Imperial prohibition, he hastened with his small army into the territories of Cologne, but without effecting any thing considerable, because the Elector, pressed by his own necessities, was unable to afford him any assistance. The new-chosen Elector made effectual efforts on the contrary, being strongly supported by his Bavarian friends, and the Spaniards from the Netherlands. The deposed Elector's troops, left by their master without pay, surrendered one place after another to the enemy:

others were taken by force. Gebhard held out still for some time in his Westphalian territories, but was at length compelled to yield. After vain attempts in Holland and England to effect his restoration, he retired into the chapter of Strasburg, and died dean of that cathedral; the first sacrifice to Catholic power, or rather to the want of harmony among the German Protestants.

From this dispute in Cologne arose a new one at Strasburg. Several members of the chapter of Cologne, who were also included in the papal anathemas, had fled to this bishopric, where they also enjoyed prebends. As the Catholic canons of the chapter of Strasburg endeavoured to molest them in the possession of their prebends, they maintained their possession by force; and a powerful support among the citizens of Strasburg, who were Protestants, soon obtained them the superiority in the chapter. The Catholic canons retired to Alsace - Saverne, where they continued the chapter as the only genuine one, and declared the other spurious; nevertheless the latter, strengthened by the accession of several powerful Protestant confederates, had the address, after the bishop's death, to postulate a new Protestant bishop in the person of Prince John George of Brandenburg. The Catholic canons, far from confirming this election, postulated the Bishop of Metz, a prince of Lorraine, who immediately announced it by hostilities against the territories of Strasburg.

The city of Strasburg now took up arms in favour of the Protestant chapter; and the opposite party, desirous of seizing the effects of the church, advanced against them, assisted by the

troops of Lorrain. This produced a tedious war, which, according to the spirit of the times, was attended with barbarous devastation. In vain did the Emperor interpose his authority to terminate the contest; the possession of both chapters remained a long time divided between them, until the Protestant prince, at length, for a moderate pecuniary equivalent, relinquished his claim, and thus the Catholic party prevailed.

An event which soon after took place at Dunaupferth, a Suabian free city, was still more prejudicial to the Protestant interests. In this once Catholic city the Protestants, during the reign of Ferdinand and his son, had by their usual means obtained the superiority, and the Catholics were obliged to content themselves with a church in the monastery of the Holy Cross, where they were under the necessity of concealing their ceremonies from the jealousies of the Protestants. At length a fanatical abbot of this cloister ventured, in opposition to the people, to make a public procession, which was preceded by the cross and flying colours; but he was soon compelled to abandon his design. This same abbot, encouraged by a favourable declaration of the Emperor, ventured a year after to renew this procession. A tumult was excited. The fanatical populace shut the gates against the monks on their return, threw their colours on the ground and pursued them with reproaches and abuse. An Imperial citation was the consequence of this violence; and as the multitude even attempted to insult the Imperial commissaries, and no hope remained of a peaceable termination of this dis-

pute, the city was put to the bann* of the Empire, the execution of which was entrusted to Maximilian Duke of Bavaria. The citizens, hitherto so bold, were seized with a panic on the approach of the Bavarian army, and laid down their arms without resistance. Their rebellion was punished with the total abolition of the Protestant religion within their walls. Donauwerth was deprived of its privileges, and, from a free Imperial city, became a municipal town of Bavaria.

Even were the Protestants less attentive to the interests of their religion, two circumstances connected with this event must have excited their attention to the utmost. The Aulic council, an arbitrary and entirely Catholic tribunal, had pronounced this sentence, and had entrusted the execution of it to the Duke of Bavaria, the sovereign of another circle. This unconstitutional step threatened them with violent measures on the part of the Catholics, and they ascribed it to private schemes for the oppression of their religion.

In circumstances where strength prevails over justice, and where security depends upon strength, the weaker side are almost always the most eager to provide for their own defence. This was now the case in Germany. It was probable, according to the most rational calculation, that whatever attempt the Catholics had formed against the Protestants would be executed in the south rather than the north of Germany; because the northern Protestants possessed long tracts of country which could easily support each other; whereas those of the south were in detached parts, surrounded

* A civil excommunication pronounced against the refractory members of the Empire. *Trans.*

by Catholic states, and exposed to every inroad. Besides, as was to be expected if the Catholics took advantage of the interior divisions, and directed their attack against the religious party, the Calvinists were the weakest, and being also excluded from the religious treaty, they stood in danger of falling upon the first attack.

Both these circumstances took place in the Palatinate, which possessed a dangerous neighbour in the Duke of Bavaria, and, by reason of its embracing Calvinism, was excluded from the benefit of the religious treaty, and had little hope of succour from the Lutherans. No country in Germany had undergone such a rapid revolution in its religion as the Palatinate at that period. In the short space of sixty years that unhappy country was seen twice to adopt Luther's doctrines, and as often exchanged them for Calvinism. The Elector Frederic III. relinquished the confession of Augsburg, which his son and successor Lewis rapidly re-established; throughout the whole country the Calvinists were deprived of their churches; their preachers, and even their teachers, were conducted to the frontiers! and this zealous prince even persecuted them in his will, by appointing none except strict Lutherans as guardians to his children. But this unjust will was laid aside by his brother the Count Palatine, John Cassimir, who, according to the regulations of the golden bull, took upon himself the guardianship, and assumed the regency. Calvinist instructors were appointed to the Elector Frederic IV. then only nine years old, and they were ordered to use personal chastisement, if necessary, in eradicating his Protestant doctrines. — If such was the treatment of the

sovereign, that of the subject may be easily conceived.

It was under this Frederic that the Palatine court made great efforts to unite the German Protestants, and form them into a confederacy against the House of Austria. Besides that this court lay under the direction of France, which was always animated by a hatred against Austria, he was induced to provide for his own security, and that of his religion, against a powerful and superior enemy. But great difficulties were opposed to this confederacy: the dislike of Lutherans against the Calvinists being scarcely less than their common hatred against the Papists. An union of the two religions was therefore attempted, in order to prepare for the confederacy: but all attempts failed, and had no other effect than to confirm both sects in their respective opinions. Nothing now remained but, by exciting fear and distrust among the Lutherans, to prevail upon them by necessity to enter this confederacy. The power of the Catholics and the greatness of the danger were magnified; accidental incidents were ascribed to deliberate plans; innocent actions, by over-cautious constructions, were misrepresented; and the whole conduct of the Catholics was ascribed to a systematic plan of hostility, of which the latter did not probably entertain an idea. No rumour was so improbable, no accusation so detestable, as not so be credited: even though the Catholics intended to infringe the religious treaty (and it was in their power), that peace was guaranteed by their veneration for it. But the Protestants appeared to apprehend what they merited.

The diet of Ratisbon, in which the Protestants

hoped to obtain a renewal of the religious treaty, was dissolved without any determination, and to their former vexations were added the new oppression of Donauwerth. The longsought confederacy at length took place. A meeting was held at Anhausen in Franconia, in 1608, at which appeared the Elector Palatine, Frederic IV. the Count Palatine of Neuburg, two Margraves of Brandenburg, the Margrave of Baden, and John Frederic Duke of Wirtemberg; Lutherans with Calvinists; and they established for themselves and their heirs a close confederacy under the title of the *Evangelic Union*. The purport of this union was, that in religious matters as well as in their civil rights the princes were engaged to assist each other mutually, and permit no individual oppression; that any membre of the Union, when attacked, should be assisted by the rest; that his territories, towns, and castles should be opened to them; and that whatever conquests were made should be divided among the whole, according to the quota furnished by each. The direction of the whole confederacy was conferred in peace on the Elector Palatine, but with a limited authority: subsidies were demanded to defray the expenses, and a fund was established. No difference of religions (viz. between Lutherans and Calvinists) was to affect the Union; and its validity was to endure for ten years. Each member was from the commencement, engaged to procure new confederates. Brandenburg declared for it, and Saxony favoured the Union. Hesse-Cassel could not be prevailed upon to declare itself; Brunswick and Luneburg also hesitated: but the three Imperial cities, Strasburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, were no unimportant acquisition to a league

which stood in need of pecuniary aid; and it was probable that their example would be followed by several of the other Imperial cities.

These united states, singly dejected and of small importance, now assumed a more firm tone. They directed Prince Christian of Anhalt to lay their grievances and demands before the Emperor; which principally consisted in the restoration of Donauwerth, the abolition of the prosecution of the court, the Emperor's own administration, and the conduct of his counsellors. They made these remonstrances at a period when the Emperor had scarce recovered from the troubles which had been occasioned in his hereditary dominions; when he had lost to Matthias, Austria and Hungary; barely saved his Bohemian crown by the *letter of majesty*; and when a new contest was raised about the succession of Juliers. It was not surprising that this tardy prince was now less active than ever, and that the confederates took up arms sooner than the Emperor had foreseen.

The Catholics viewed this confederacy with a suspicious eye: the members of the latter were alike suspicious of the Catholics and the Emperor, who was equally jealous of both: and on all sides apprehension and animosity had reached the greatest height. To complete this embarrassment, at this very conjuncture the death of John William Duke of Juliers occasioned a disputed succession for the territories of Cleves and Juliers.

Eight competitors laid claims to this succession, whose individuities was guaranteed by the most solemn treaties; and the Emperor, if disposed to consider it as entirely vacant, could become the ninth. Four claimants, the Elector of Brandenburg,

the Count Palatine of Neuburg, that of Deuxponts, and the Margrave of Burgau, an Austrian prince, claimed it as a dower in behalf of four princesses, sisters to the deceased Duke. Two others, the Elector of Saxony, of the line of Albert, and the Duke of Saxony, of the line of Ernest, laid claims to it from a prior survivorship, which was confirmed to them by the Emperors Frederic III. and Maximilian I. The claims of foreign princes were not regarded. The fairest lay on the side of Brandenburg and Neuburg, and both appeared equally favoured by circumstances. Each hastened to take possession of the inheritance: Brandenburg began, and Neuburg followed its example: both commenced their dispute with the pen, and would probably have terminated it with the sword; but the interference of the Emperor to bring this suit under his own decision, while he in the mean time sequestered the disputed territories, brought the competitors to a speedy agreement in order to avert the common danger. It was resolved to govern the dutchy in common. In vain did the Emperor order the estates not to do homage to the new sovereigns; in vain did he send one of his relations, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, into the country in order to give weight to the Imperial party by his presence. The whole country, except Juliers, had submitted to the Protestant princes, and the Emperor's adherents were besieged in that capital.

This dispute was of importance to the Empire, and excited the attention of several European states. The possession of Juliers was of itself not of so much consequence: but the question was, which of the parties into which Germany was divided, the

Protestant or Catholic, should obtain the superiority by so considerable an accession to their power. It was now to be seen whether Austria would persevere in its usurpations, and indulge its thirst for dominion, by a new act of violence, or whether the independent powers of Germany were capable of resisting those usurpations. The succession of Juliers consequently interested all the powers which favoured liberty, or were hostile to Austria, The Evangelic Union, Holland, England, but principally Henry IV. of France, interposed upon this occasion.

This monarch, the flower of whose age was passed in opposition to the House of Austria, and who by the admirable perseverance of a hero had surmounted all the obstacles which that House had thrown in his way to the French throne, had already been no inactive spectator of the troubles in Germany. It was even this dispute of the states with the Emperor which produced the peace in France. The Protestants and Turks formed a strong counterpoise to the Austrian power, on its eastern and western frontier; but it would be restored to its former greatness, if suffered to elude this constraint. Henry IV. had, during half a century, an uninterrupted example of Austria's usurpations and thirst for power, which neither adverse fortune nor pusillanimity, that commonly depresses all the human passions, could extinguish in a bosom in which flowed a drop of the blood of Ferdinand of Arragon. Even in the weakest of the race of Habsburg this passion was strong; this inclination was boundless in its most confined characters, and tarnished the lustre of its few virtuous princes. The usurpations of Austria had during a century,

deprived all Europe of its peace, and caused in the interior of its principal states the most violent revolutions. It had deprived the field of the husbandman, the manufactory of the artist, covered the country with numerous armies, and the seas with hostile fleets. It had reduced the European princes to the unhappy necessity of loading their subjects with excessive imposts, and of exhausting the strength of their dominions in defending them. Europe could enjoy no repose, its states no prosperity, no permanent plan could be formed for the happiness of the people, so long as this dangerous race was permitted to disturb its tranquillity; and it was much to be feared that the ambition of this House would survive its power. Even in its exhausted situation, which threatened it with ruin, it cost the confederacy thousands of lives and millions of money to confine its ambition within bounds. What great and noble design could be executed? how much could the happiness of all ranks be promoted by the exertions which were now ingloriously and ineffectually expended to guard the House of Habsburg? *

Such considerations aroused Henry at the close of his glorious career. What pains had it cost him to dispel the cloud which a long civil war, excited and fomented by Austria, had occasioned in France! Every great soul labours for immortality; what then could guarantee to this prince the prosperity in which he left France, while Austria and Spain remained united, and while, though

* The House of Austria is descended from the Counts of this name, a family of no great note. By the Empress Maria Teresa's marriage with the Duke of Lorraine, it has been united with one of the most illustrious Houses in Europe. *Trans*

now weakened, a fortunate accident was only wanting to render them as formidable as ever? In order to leave his successor the firm possession of the throne, and secure to his people a durable peace, this power must be destroyed, and precautions taken against its re-establishment. From this source flowed the irreconcilable hatred which led Henry IV. to swear unextinguishable, ardent, and just vengeance against the House of Austria, like Hannibal's antipathy against the Romans, but arising from nobler sentiments.

The different powers of Europe had this provocation in common with Henry; but they possessed not that enlightened policy, that disinterested courage to act accordingly. Mankind are almost without exemption captivated with immediate advantages; great souls alone are excited by distant prospects. So long as prudence depends upon itself, or relies upon its own resources, it rejects nothing but chimerical plans; and while it sometimes exposes itself to the ridicule of the world, it ensures success when its plan is directed to destroy barbarian avarice and superstition, and when private interests enable it to promote its laudable purposes.

In the first consideration, Henry's project to drive the House of Austria from all its possessions, and divide its conquests among the European powers, deserved the name of chimerical, which mankind are in general so liberal in bestowing; but did it merit this appellation in the second? This excellent king could not flatter himself that the promoters of this design were inspired with the same sentiments which actuated himself and his minister Sully. The states whose co-operation was

wanting, were forced by the most pressing political considerations to engage in this scheme; from the Austrian Protestants nothing was required but what they already seemed to aim at, their deliverance from the Austrian yoke; from the Flemings, nothing but a similar deliverance from the Spaniards. It was of the utmost importance to the Pope and the republics of Italy to remove effectually the Spanish tyranny from their territories; to England, nothing could be more pleasing than to be delivered from its most bitter enemy. Each power acquired, by this division of Austria's usurped conquests either territory or independence, new property, or security for its old; and while each was indemnified, the balance of power was still unviolated. France could with magnanimity renounce all claim to indemnification, as it doubly profited by Austria's ruin, and was the more powerful by not seeking any other advantage. The posterity of Habsburg were at length permitted to expose their designs both to past and future worlds. Austria was only saved by the knife of Revail-lac, in order to postpone the tranquillity of Europe for centuries.

Attentive to this scheme, Henry must naturally have immediately interfered with the Evangelic Union in Germany, and in the succession of Juliers. His emissaries were busy in all the Protestant courts of Germany; and the hints which they sparingly gave of the intention of their monarch, were destined to gain proselytes, who were equally incensed against the House of Austria, and desirous of aggrandizing themselves. Henry's policy brought the Union to a still closer connexion, and the assistance which he promised them raised to the

utmost the hopes of the confederates. A numerous French army, commanded by the king in person, was destined to join the troops of the Union on the Rhine, and first to assist them in conquering Cleves and Juliers; after which they were to proceed to Italy, where Savoy, Venice, and Rome, had formed a confederacy to overthrow the Spanish throne. These victorious armies were then to fall into the Austrian territories, and there, favoured by an universal insurrection, to destroy the power of Austria in Hungary, Bohemia, and Transylvania. The people of Holland and Brabant had already, with the assistance of France, delivered themselves from Spanish tyranny; and this furious torrent, which had overflowed its banks, and threatened to bury the European liberties under its waves, now flowed quiet and forgotten behind the Pyrenean mountains.

The French were long famous for their activity, but on this occasion they were overreached by the Germans. An army of the confederates entered Alsace before Henry had made his appearance there, and a corps of Austrians which the Bishop of Passau and Strasburg had assembled there to advance against Juliers, was dispersed. Henry IV. had formed his plan as a statesman and a king, but he consigned its execution to plunderers. According to his ideas, none of the Catholic states could take umbrage at these preparations, or would espouse Austria's quarrel. Religion was to have no share in this dispute; but it was by no means probable that the German princes would lose sight of their own interests in the execution of Henry's schemes. Excited by ambition and religious animosity, was it not natural for them to

gratify their ruling passions whenever they found an opportunity? They entered the territories of the ecclesiastical princes like marauders, and always took up their quarters in those rich countries, though ever so far out of their way. As if in an enemy's territory, they raised contributions, seized upon the revenues, and exacted by force what was not voluntarily given to them. Not to leave the Catholics in suspense as to the intent of this expedition, the latter were plainly given to understand, that it was destined to decide the fate of the possessions of the Catholic church. So little good intelligence reigned between Henry and the German princes in their plan of operations, and so much was this excellent king deceived in the instruments he employed. It is an observation confirmed by experience, that an act of violence, directed by prudence, should never be left to violence to enforce: and that the violation of good order should only be entrusted to those who hold it sacred.

The conduct of the confederates, resented even by several of the Protestant states, and the apprehensions which the Catholics began to entertain of a still worse treatment, did not permit them to behold it with silent indignation. The authority of the Emperor was at too low an ebb to protect them against such an enemy; the union of the confederates was what rendered them so formidable, and this union must now be opposed by another.

The Bishop of Wirtzburg drew the plan of this Catholic union, which was distinguished from that of the Protestants by the denomination of The League. It principally consisted of bishops, and the grounds of it were the same with those of the Union. At its head was Maximilian Duke of

Bavaria, the only secular member of importance, but furnished with much greater powers than the Protestant confederates had granted to their chief. From this circumstance it arose, that the Duke of Bavaria, being commander in chief of the troops of the League, their operations had a superior force and activity, and supplies were obtained from the rich prelates with much more ease than the Protestants could obtain them from their poorer adherents. Without Imperial aid as a Catholic state, without even communicating their designs to the Emperor, the Catholic League appeared suddenly firm and formidable, with force sufficient to crush the Protestant Union; and to sustain itself under three Emperors. Though the League espoused the Emperor's quarrel, as an enemy to the Protestants, they soon became formidable to himself.

Meanwhile the arms of the confederates were successful in Cleves and Juliers: Juliers was blockaded, and the entire bishopric of Strasburg in their power. But this was the conclusion of their triumphs. No French army appeared on the Rhine, because its destined leader, and the soul of the whole undertaking, Henry IV. was now no more; their supplies were gradually expended, and the states hesitated to grant new subsidies; while the free cities were offended that their money was always demanded, but never their advice. They were particularly exasperated at being exposed to expense by the expedition of Juliers, which was expressly excluded from the affairs of the Union; that the united princes bestowed large pensions out of the common treasure; and principally, that the expenditure of the money was not accounted for.

Thus did the Union verge towards its fall at the moment when the League, with accumulated strength, opposed it. The confederates could no longer keep the field from their want of money, and it was dangerous to lay down their arms in the presence of a formidable enemy. To secure themselves in one quarter, however, they concluded a treaty with their old enemy, the Archduke Leopold, and both parties agreed to withdraw their troops from Alsace, to release the prisoners, and forget the past violences on both sides. Thus ended all their boasted preparations.

The imperious tone in which the confederates, confiding in their strength, had addressed the German Catholics, was now retorted upon themselves and their troops; their own steps were followed, and they were branded with the severest epithets. The chapters of Wirtzburg, Bamberg, Strasburg, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, had suffered from their ravages; all these losses were to be indemnified, and the free navigation of the Rhine, which the Protestants had also seized, was to be restored to its former footing. The Unionists were required to give an unequivocal answer concerning the intent of their confederacy; they were now in their turn obliged to yield to superior force; they had not expected so formidable an enemy, but they taught the Catholics the secret of their own strength; their pride was hurt in being obliged to sue for a peace which, however, they were fortunate in obtaining; the one side promised restitution, the other an indemnity; all laid down their arms; the tumult of war suddenly ceased, and a temporary calm succeeded. It was at this period the insurrection broke out in Bohemia, which

lost the Emperor his hereditary dominions; but neither the Union nor the League interfered with these disturbances.

At length the Emperor died in 1612, as little remembered in his grave as he had been respected on the throne. The miseries of the following reigns, however, effaced the remembrance of those which his reign had caused, and added lustre to his memory; and such was the condition to which Germany was reduced, that even this Emperor was in the conclusion very bitterly regretted.

Rodolph could not be prevailed upon to elect a successor, and all minds were filled with apprehensions by the approaching vacancy of the throne; but, contrary to expectation, Matthias took speedy and peaceable possession of it. The Catholics supported him, because they formed great expectations from the activity of this prince; the Protestants followed their example, from the hopes they conceived of his weakness. It is not difficult to reconcile these contradictions; the one judged from his former, the other from his actual disposition.

The moment of a new succession is commonly that of ardent hopes, and in elective crowns a king's first diet is commonly the most severe; every old grievance is introduced, and new ones are sought to include them in the expected reform. The services which the Protestants had rendered Matthias in his rebellion, were still fresh in the minds of the confederates, and the price which they exacted for them now, served as an example worthy of imitation.

It was by favouring the Protestants in Austria and Moravia, that Matthias had actually obtained the throne, but, blinded by his ambition, he never

considered that by these means also, the Protestant states were enabled to give law to their sovereign. This discovery soon aroused him from the intoxication of success. No sooner after his accession to the crown of Bohemia had he appeared among his Austrian subjects, than demands awaited him which were calculated to disgust him with his exaltation. Previous to their rendering homage, they required an unlimited toleration of their religion in the cities and market-towns, a perfect equality with the Catholics, and an equal claim to all offices in the state. In several places they assumed these privileges of themselves, and restored the Protestant religion, from confidence in the new administration, where it had been suppressed by the Emperor. Matthias had not already scrupled to make use of the grievances of the Protestants against the Emperor; but it was by no means his intention to exalt that sect. By a firm and decisive tone he hoped to suppress these demands in the commencement; he spoke of his hereditary title to his dominions, and would hearken to no terms previous to his consecration; the same unconditional homage had been yielded by their neighbours, the inhabitants of Styria, to the Archduke Ferdinand; but they had soon reason to repent. Taught by this example, the states of Austria persisted in their claims. To avoid compulsion they left the capital, invited the Catholics to a similar resistance, and began to levy troops; they took steps to renew their old alliance with the Hungarians, drew the Protestant princes into their interests, and seriously prepared to establish their claims by force of arms.

Matthias had not hesitated to comply with the

far more exorbitant demands of the Hungarians; but Hungary was an elective kingdom, and the republican form of its constitution justified the claims of the states, as also his concession to them before the Catholic League. On the contrary, in Austria his predecessors had exercised much greater prerogatives; these he could not relinquish to the states without disgracing himself in the eyes of all the Catholics in Europe, exciting the enmity of Spain and Rome, and loading himself with the contempt of his own Catholic subjects. His more severe Catholic counsellors, of whom Melchior Klesel, Bishop of Vienna, was the principal, exhorted him, sooner than yield to the Protestants, to deprive them by force of all their churches.

But unfortunately this circumstance occurred at a period when the Emperor Rodolph still lived, and was a spectator of those disputes, when the latter might have turned his own weapon against him, that of exciting the subject to revolt. To avoid this blow, Matthias accepted the offer which the states of Moravia made of becoming mediators between him and the Austrians. A committee of both states assembled at Vienna, where the Austrian deputies held a language which would have excited surprise in an English parliament, even in Cromwell's time. * „The Protestants,” said they, “will not be worse treated than the few „Catholics in the country. It was by his „Protestant nobility that Matthias overcame the

* Had the author been more intimately acquainted with the English history, he would have found it difficult to say what sort of language would have appeared strange in one of Cromwell's parliaments: that of common sense was perhaps the scarcest. *Trans.*

„Emperor; where eighty Papists were found, three hundred Protestant barons might be reckoned. The example of Rodolph should be a warning to Matthias; he should beware of not too speedily relinquishing the goods of this life for those of the other.“ As the states of Moravia, instead of using their privilege as mediators for the Emperor's benefit, at length embraced the cause of the Austrian Protestants, as the Union in Germany prepared vigorously to support them, and as Matthias feared reprisals on the part of the Emperor, he was at length compelled to make the desired declaration in behalf of the Protestants.

Such behaviour of the Austrian states to their Archduke, served as an example to the German Protestants in their transactions with the Emperor, and promised them similar success. At the first diet at Ratisbon in 1613, where the most pressing affairs demanded immediate decision—a war against the Turks, and against Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, who by Turkish aid had usurped that country, and even threatened Hungary; under all these circumstances, which required a prompt and general contribution, the Protestants, to the astonishment of all, suddenly advanced claims entirely new. The Catholics still retained the most votes among the princes; and as every matter was decided by a plurality of voices, the Protestants, however they might be united, could not rival them. The Catholics must now renounce this advantage, and in future no one religious sect must possess the privilege of outweighing the other by its majority of voices. In fact, as the Protestant religion was represented in the diet, it was to be understood that the constitution of

this assembly should not prevent them from making use of that privilege. Complaints against the usurped jurisdiction of the Aulic council accompanied these demands, and the deputies of the states received orders to abstain from all general deliberations until they obtained a categorical answer to this preliminary article.

The diet was torn by these divisions which threatened the general measures. However sincerely the Emperor wished to maintain a balance between both religions, after the example of his father Maximilian, the present conduct of the Protestants left him only a serious alternative. His necessities required a general subsidy, and he could not attach to himself the one party without becoming obnoxious to the other. Unsupported in his hereditary dominions, a war with the Protestants was too serious an undertaking. But the eyes of the Catholic world, which were fixed on the resolution he would now embrace; the remonstrances of the Catholic states, and those of Rome and the court of Spain, rendered it equally impossible for him to favour the Protestants at the expense of the Catholic religion. The interests of the Catholics were closely connected with the Emperor's authority; and, were these abandoned, the ecclesiastical princes in particular enjoyed no further protection against their enemies.

Perceiving the Emperor undecided, they thought the period at length arrived, when it was necessary to relieve his despondency. They accordingly communicated to him the secret of their league, its nature, its strength and resources. Discouraging as such a discovery might be to the Emperor, the prospect of so powerful a succour gave him greater

courage to oppose the Protestants; their demands were rejected, and the diet broke up without coming to a decision. But Matthias was himself the sufferer in this quarrel. The Protestants withdrew from him their aid, and left him, though innocent, to feel the inflexibility of the Catholics.

Meanwhile the cessation of hostilities with the Turks approached to a conclusion, their conduct became more suspicious, and an armament against them was necessary; the resources which the Emperor could not command among the states of the Empire, he was obliged to wrest from his own. These were divided into the same religious parties, and actuated by the same spirit of discontent, as the states of the Empire: so that the Emperor had equal difficulties still to surmount: no one province of the Austrian monarchy would come to any resolution without consent of the other; and a general diet of these states might soon be converted into a dangerous confederacy against the Emperor. But at length imperious necessity compelled him to assemble the states of Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, &c. at Linz. The Emperor left no effort untried to convince them of the necessity of a war with the Turks; but when a final resolution was wanting, the deputies had no instructions. This Austrian diet ended as fruitlessly as that of the Empire, and the Emperor's good fortune alone extricated him from his difficulties. The Turks appeared willing to prolong the cessation of hostilities, and Bethlen Gabor was left in quiet possession of Transylvania. The Empire was now secured against foreign danger, and it still enjoyed peace notwithstanding its interior divisions. The succession of Juliers received, from an unexpected

accident, a sudden turn. This dutchy was still ruled in common by the Electoral House of Brandenburg; and the Count Palatine of Neuburg; a marriage between the Prince of Neuburg and a Princess of Brandenburg was to have inseparably united the interests of both Houses. But this plan was frustrated by a box on the ear, which the Elector of Brandenburg, when intoxicated, gave his intended son-in-law. This terminated the good understanding between both Houses; the Prince of Neuburg embraced popery; a Princess of Bavaria was the reward of his apostacy, and the support of Bavaria and Spain, the natural consequences of both. To put him in full possession of the territories of Juliers, the Spanish troops marched from the Netherlands. To rid himself of these guests, the Elector called the Dutch to his assistance, whose affections he expected to secure by having embraced the Presbyterian religion. Spanish and Dutch armies appeared, but, as was soon perceived, only to make their own conquests.

The war in the Netherlands seemed ready to be decided in Germany; and what combustibles were not prepared in this latter Empire already! The Protestants, with consternation, beheld the Spaniards establish themselves on the Lower Rhine; the Catholics, with still greater fears, saw the Dutch enter the territories of the Empire. It is peculiar to religious wars to respect no boundaries of territory, to endeavour to extend themselves in every country, because in every country they possess friends and foes, where they are only exhausted by the entire annihilation of their adherents. The storm which ravaged Germany appeared to gather in the west; consternation and anxiety

were directed to that quarter, but the first blow was struck to the eastward.

The tranquillity which Rodolph II.'s *letter of majesty* had established in Bohemia, lasted under the administration of Matthias for some time, until a new heir to this kingdom was appointed in the person of Ferdinand of Gratz.

This prince afterwards better known under the title of Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, had shown himself, by the extirpation of the Protestant religion in his territories, an inveterate zealot for popery, and was consequently regarded by the Catholic party of Bohemia as its most firm future support. The Emperor's declining state of health, and their confidence of so powerful a support, encouraged the Bohemian Catholics to treat the Protestants with great insolence. The Protestant vassals of the Catholic nobility received in particular the hardest usage; at the same time many of the Catholics were so imprudent as to express their hopes, and by their threats to excite among the Protestants a distrust of their future sovereign. But this distrust would never have broke out into open violence, if particular attacks had not encouraged enterprising chiefs.

Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, not a native of Bohemia, but proprietor of some estates in that kingdom, had, by his zeal for the Protestant religion, and his enthusiastic love for his newly adopted country, gained an entire confidence among the Utraquists, and this procured him the greatest authority among them. He had served with reputation against the Turks, and by a flattering address he had obtained the esteem of the multitude; an ardent impetuous disposition inclined him to revo-

lutions, where he could display his talents: bold and thoughtless to undertake schemes which a more prudent disposition would have rejected, he was sufficiently rash to indulge his passions at the expense of thousands of lives, and sufficiently artful to acquire an entire ascendancy over the Bohemians in their present situation; he had already taken the greatest share in the troubles of Rodolph's administration, and the *letter of majesty* obtained from this Emperor was principally owing to him. The Court had entrusted to him the charter, and the guardianship of the liberties of Bohemia, as Burgrave of Carlsstein; but the nation conferred on him a more important prerogative, that of defender of its faith. The aristocracy, which governed the Emperor, imprudently attentive to trifling circumstances, while they overlooked those of greater moment, deprived this nobleman of his office of burgrave, by which he was rendered independent of the court, and his attention directed to the importance of his other title; while his pride was offended, and his ambition deprived of all its dangerous appearances. From this period he was governed only by envy and a spirit of revenge; and a favourable opportunity soon presented itself to gratify his resentment.

In the *letter of majesty* which the Bohemians obtained from Rodolph II. a principal article remained undecided. Every privilege which this granted the Protestants was enjoyed only by the nobility and the proprietors of estates; and the vassals in ecclesiastical territories had only obtained an uncertain toleration. The *letter of majesty* also made mention only of the states and the borough-towns, whose magistrates had the address to procure

themselves equal privileges with the nobility. To these only it was permitted to build schools and churches, and to exercise their religion: in all other towns the toleration of Protestantism was left entirely at the discretion of the states. The German states, particularly the secular, had used this privilege without reserve: the ecclesiastical states, restrained by a proclamation of the Emperor Ferdinand, had opposed this restriction. In the religious peace the disputed points were left equally undecided as in the letter of majesty; and though in the former the conditions were more explicit, it was uncertain whether they would be obeyed; in the latter the whole interpretation was left to the states. The vassals of Catholic estates in Bohemia thought themselves entitled to equal privileges with those granted to the subjects of German bishops in Ferdinand's declaration; they esteemed themselves on a footing with the borough-towns, because equally belonging with the latter to the royal domains. In the little town of Klostergrab, subject to the Archbishop of Prague, and in Braunau, which is under the abbot of that monastery, the Protestants laid the foundation of churches, and notwithstanding the opposition of their proprietors, and the Emperor's disapprobation, completed them.

In the mean time the vigilance of the defenders of liberty began to relax, and the court imagined it could make some attempt of importance. By the Emperor's orders the church at Klostergrab was demolished, that at Braunau forcibly shut up, and the most turbulent of the citizens were thrown into prison. An universal commotion among the Protestants was the consequence of this step: the

violation of the *letter of majesty* was loudly exclaimed against; and Count Thurn, who, from his quality of *defender of liberty*, was in some measure required and excited by a spirit of revenge, was busily occupied in fomenting the general discontent. At his incitation a meeting of deputies was called from every circle in the kingdom to concert measures against the common danger. It was here resolved to petition the Emperor to release the prisoners. The Emperor's reply, which offended the states by being addressed to his deputy, not to them, reproached them with refractory and rebellious conduct, justified the action at Klostergrab and Braunau by an Imperial mandate, and contained some threatening passages. Count Thurn did not fail to increase the bad effect which this Imperial edict had upon the states. He pointed out to them the danger to which all those who signed the petition were exposed, and by fears and animosity endeavoured to excite them to the most violent resolutions. To rise in arms against the Emperor was as yet too bold a step: by degrees, however, he led them to it. For this purpose he laid first the blame upon the Emperor's counsellors, and spread a report that the proclamation was composed by the government of Prague, and only signed in Vienna. The public hatred was principally directed to the Imperial deputy Slavata, who was president of the council, and Baron Martinitz, who, in the place of Count Thurn, was elected Burgrave of Carlstein. Both these noblemen had already afforded cause of suspicion to the Protestants, by refusing to assist at the debate in which the *letter of majesty* was registered. Threats were now uttered to render them answer-

able for every breach of this letter, and all the future sufferings of the Protestants were not without reason attributed to them. Among all the Catholic proprietors of estates these acted with most severity against their Protestant vassals. They were accused of hunting the latter with dogs into the mass, and forcing them, by a renunciation of baptism, marriage, and the funeral service, to embrace popery. Two such hated objects were soon destined as a sacrifice to public odium.

On the 23d of May 1618, the deputies assembled in arms, and in great numbers, at the Emperor's palace, and forcibly entered the room where the members of the regency, Sternberg, Martinitz, Lobkowitz, and Slavata, were sitting. With a threatening tone they required a declaration from each of them whether they had a share in the Emperor's proclamation, or had given their consent to it. Sternberg received them with moderation, Martinitz answered with disdain:—this decided their fate. Sternberg and Lobkowitz, less hated and more dreaded, were shown out of the room; while Slavata and Martinitz were dragged to a window, and flung into a ditch eighty feet deep. The secretary Fabricius, a creature of both, was thrown after them. This violent action excited the attention of all civilized nations. The Bohemians justified it as a national custom, and found nothing so surprising as the little mischief which it caused the sufferers. A dunghill, on which they fell, had saved their lives.

This rash action, as might be expected, could not ingratiate them with the Emperor: but Count Thurn was rejoiced to see matters come to this

length. Having once ventured upon this step, the states must commit still greater crimes to ensure their own safety. By this act of violence every way to negotiation was shut up, and one crime rendered a chain of others indispensable. To justify the fact, the reigning power must be disarmed. Thirty directors were appointed to commence a regular insurrection. All the revenues and offices of the army and of the crown were immediately seized, and the whole Bohemian nation summoned to vindicate their common cause. The Jesuits, who were regarded as the authors of all their grievances, were banished; and the states found it necessary to justify this measure by a formal declaration. All these steps were taken for the better maintenance of the royal authority and the laws; the usual pretext of all fortunate rebels*.

The emotion which the Bohemian rebellion excited at the Imperial court was not so violent as might be expected. The Emperor Matthias no longer possessed that resolution which he had formerly displayed against his sovereign, in depriving him of three crowns. The prudent courage he had displayed in his usurpation forsook him in his defence of his possessions. The Bohemian rebels having risen in arms, the consequences were such as might be expected by his following their example. But he could not hope to confine the war to Bohemia: the Protestants formed a powerful party in his territories; their

* This example was followed some years after by the parliament of Charles I. The artifice of using the king's name and authority against himself was not therefore a new expedient, as Mr. Hume imagines. *Trans.*

common danger might soon unite them in a powerful republic. If the Protestants in his territories united against him, what opposition could he make? Besides that both parties exhausted themselves in a civil war, every thing was lost by a defeat; and a victory over his own subjects could not be productive of advantage.

Considerations of this nature inclined the Emperor and his council to pacific measures: but others attributed to these measures the succeeding evils. Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz rather congratulated the Emperor upon an event which justified the utmost severity against the Protestants in the eyes of all Europe: "Disobedience, violence, and insurrection," it was said, "were always connected with Protestantism. Every privilege which the states had obtained from the present and former Emperors had no other effect than that of increasing their demands. Their attempts were manifestly directed against government, and the heretics proceeded from one step to another to the last act of violence: their next attack would be against the person of the Emperor. What had hitherto been suffered was only a just punishment for the lenity with which they had been treated; their present rebellion was a divine work to fulfil the measure of their crimes, and exhaust the patience of their rulers. Such an enemy was to be treated with only in arms. Peace was to be established only by the total abolition of their dangerous privileges:—it was in the ruin of this sect that the Catholics were to look for security. The event of the war was truly doubtful, but inevitable ruin was the consequence of not engag-

"ing in it. The forfeiture of the rebel estates would defray the expenses, and the example of "executions" would effectually terrify the other "states."

Against such measures it was just that the Protestants of Bohemia should take up arms. The insurrection was immediately directed, not against the Emperor himself, who remained inactive, but against his presumptive heir. To exclude this prince from the throne of Bohemia its inhabitants took up arms even under Matthias; so long, however, as this Emperor lived they contained themselves within bounds.

But having once begun the insurrection, the Emperor could not, consistently with his dignity, sue for peace. Spain offered subsidies, and promised to support him with troops from Italy and the Netherlands; Count Bucquoi, a native of Flanders, was appointed generalissimo of the Imperial troops, because no native could be trusted; and Daupierre, another foreigner, commanded under him. Before this army was put in motion the Emperor justified his conduct by a manifesto. In this he assured the Bohemians "he had never formed any design against their liberties; that he held sacred the *letter of majesty*; and that their insurrection alone forced him to "extremities; that he would disband his army so "soon as the Bohemians laid down their arms." This moderate declaration failed in its purpose, because the chief insurgents concealed from their followers the Emperor's good intentions. Instead of this, the pulpits and public prints resounded with vague rumours and fears of a renewal of the scene of St. Bartholomew's night, which ex-

isted only in their own imaginations. All Bohemia, except three towns, Budweiss, Krummau, and Pilsen, were concerned in the insurrection. These three towns, chiefly composed of Catholics, had alone the courage to hold out for the Emperor, who promised them succour: but to leave places of such importance in the enemies hands, by which the kingdom was at all times left open, was a danger too great to escape the vigilance of Count Thurn; he appeared suddenly before Budweiss and Krummau, and expected to force them by terror to surrender: Krummau yielded, but Budweiss obstinately resisted his attacks.

The Emperor now began to display activity and resolution in his operations. Bucquoi and Dampierre, at the head of two armies, fell into Bohemia, which they treated as an enemy's country: but the Imperial generals found the road to Prague was attended with more difficulties than they expected; every pass and position they were obliged to gain by force, and the resistance was increased by the outrages of their troops, consisting principally of Walloons and Hungarians, which converted their friends into enemies. But while his troops entered Bohemia, the Emperor was still inclined to pacific measures. The rebels were excited by new hopes. The states of Moravia espoused their cause; and in the person of Count Mansfeld there arose among them a protector equally intrepid and unexpected.

The leaders of the Evangelic Union had beheld the commotions of the Bohemians with silence, but not with inactivity: both had to contend in the same cause, and against the same enemy; their fate was united with that of the Bohemians,

and the cause of that people was represented as that of all the German Protestants. True to this principle, the rebels were encouraged in their presumption, and a fortunate circumstance enabled them to fulfil their hopes.

Peter Ernest Count Mansfeld, the son of an Austrian officer of merit, who had served with distinction in the Spanish army in Flanders, was the instrument of terror to the Austrian power in Germany. He had served his first campaigns under the Archduke Leopold, in Juliers and in Alsace, against the Protestant religion: but, gradually gained by the principles of this doctrine, or the anarchy which it seemed to encourage, he deserted a general who did not reward him according to his services, and attached himself with zeal to the Protestant faith. He was favoured by a war which the Duke of Savoy, an ally of the Union, was desirous of commencing with Spain. An army of four thousand men was raised at the expense of this Duke, to assist the members of the Union in Germany. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Bohemians than to be assisted by troops supported at foreign expense. Mansfeld received orders to lead this army into Bohemia, and a manifesto previously issued concealed their destination.

Mansfeld now appeared in Bohemia, and by taking possession of Pilsen, a town formidable by its strength, and in the Emperor's interest, firmly established himself in that kingdom. The courage of the rebels was increased by succours they received from Saxony. Between these and the Imperial troops there were some skirmishes, which were a prelude to a more serious war. To check

the vivacity of these operations, the interposition of Saxony was offered to the Emperor: but before this negotiation could be brought to a conclusion he died.

What had Matthias now done to fulfil what the expectations of the world, and the ruin of his predecessor, required of him? Was it worth the pains to obtain Rodolph's throne with so much trouble, and leave it with so little renown? So long as Matthias was sovereign, he was obliged to make sacrifices to the necessities which had originally been the cause of his promotion. To enjoy the regal dignity some years sooner, he had sacrificed the independence of his throne; his immediate followers were confined to the authority which was left him by the states. Sickly and childless, he beheld a successor who impatiently anticipated the consequences.

With Matthias the Austrian line was in a manner extinct; for of all the sons of Maximilian, there lived only one, weak and childless, Archduke Albert, in the Netherlands, who had yielded his right of inheritance to the line of Gratz. Even the Court of Spain had privately resigned all its claims to the Austrian territories in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, by which the race of Habsburg were to receive new strength in Germany, and the influence and power of Austria a renewal.

Ferdinand was the son of the younger brother of Maximilian II. Archduke of Carniola; Styria, and Carinthia, and a princess of Bavaria. Having lost his father at twelve years of age, his mother delivered him to her brother William, Duke of Bavaria, who had him educated at the

academy of Ingoldstadt, under the Jesuits. The principles which he here imbibed from the conversation of a prince who had abdicated his government from motives of devotion; may be easily conceived. On the one side he was shown the detestation in which Maximilian held the new doctrines, and the confusion which reigned among the Protestants; on the other side he was promised the affection of the Bavarians, and the zealous support of its princes in the extirpation of heresy. To the choice of either he must resolve himself.

Formed in this school to be a champion of the faith, and an instrument of the church, he left Bavaria after five years residence there, to take upon himself the administration of his hereditary dominions. The states of Cariola, Styria, and Carinthia, who required him to confirm the toleration of their religion before they did homage, received for answer, that the former was wholly unconnected with the latter; the oath of allegiance was unconditionally demanded, and actually taken. Several years, however, elapsed before he began to execute the schemes which he had formed at Ingoldstadt; he first had the precaution to offer up his devotions at the shrine of the Virgin Mary, at Loretto, and to obtain at Rome the benediction of Pope Clement VIII.

To expel the Protestants from a country where they formed the more numerous body, and where they were formerly tolerated by an edict of Ferdinand's father, must appear a tyrannical act; and so solemn a grant of toleration could not be repealed without danger: but this pupil of the Jesuits was to be deterred by no difficulties. The example

of other states, both Catholic and Protestant, who exercised the right of making converts in their territories, and the manner in which the states of Styria abused the privilege of toleration, must justify this violent action. The rules of prudence and good sense, though even sanctioned by law, were disregarded. In prosecuting this unjust undertaking, it must be confessed that Ferdinand displayed an extraordinary courage and firmness; without having recourse to severe or cruel measures, he suppressed the Protestants in one city after another; and in a few years, to the astonishment of all Germany, brought his schemes to a conclusion.

But while admired by the Catholics as their champion and hero, the Protestants began to combine against him as their most formidable enemy. Matthias had met with little opposition from the states of Austria, and had received the crown of Bohemia under no very considerable restrictions; their attention was excited when they found the evil consequences of his measures as Emperor; and a number of projects in his hand-writing, which displayed no good will towards them, raised their consternation to the utmost: they were chiefly alarmed at a secret family compact with Spain, in which the Emperor had bequeathed to that crown, in default of male issue, the kingdom of Bohemia, without consulting the nation or regarding its elective rights. The numerous enemies which this prince had made himself by his reforms in Styria among the Protestants, were of the worst consequence to him in Bohemia; and several Styrians who had emigrated to this latter country were particularly active in exciting the flames of revolt.

Thus ill affected did Ferdinand find the Bohemian people on his accession.

So bad an understanding between the people, and the candidate for the throne, would have raised a storm in the most peaceable succession, but much more at this period; when the nation had resumed their dignity and asserted their native rights, and encouraged by their internal union and by promises of foreign assistance, they assured themselves of success. Disregarding Ferdinand's claims, they declared their throne vacant, and themselves fully released from their former election. No way of negotiation was left; and if Ferdinand was to possess the crown of Bohemia, it must be either at the expense of all the power which alone renders a crown acceptable, or he must conquer that kingdom by force of arms.

But means of conquest were not easily found in his convulsed dominions. Silesia had joined in the insurrection of Bohemia, and Moravia was prepared to follow its example; a strong opposition prevailed in Upper and Lower Austria, whose states declined doing homage; Hungary was threatened with an irruption by Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transilvania; secret preparations among the Turks filled the eastern provinces with consternation. To crown these misfortunes, the Protestants had made an insurrection in his hereditary dominions. In these the Protestants formed the more numerous body, and they chiefly possessed the revenues by which Ferdinand was to carry on the war; the neutral became irresolute, the faithful subjects were discouraged, and resolution adhered only to the turbulent; one half of Germany encouraged the rebels, the other calmly awaited

the event: Spanish aid was distant; the present moment menaced him with ruin, and he was threatened with the vengeance of injured freedom in the height of its success.

Pressed by necessity, he now made offers of peace to the Bohemians, which they rejected with disdain. Count Thurn, at the head of an army, entered Moravia to bring the resolutions of this country, which alone still seemed to waver, to a decision. The appearance of an enemy was to the Moravian Protestants the signal of rebellion; Bruenn was taken, the whole country yielded, and both government and religion were changed throughout the province. The insurrection made rapid strides in Upper Austria, where a powerful party favoured it. „There was to be in future „no distinction between religions; both should be „on an equal footing: a foreign force was raising „to oppress the Bohemians: they would be „avenged, and pursue the enemies of liberty to „the utmost limits of the earth.“ Such was the tone held out; not an arm was raised in the Archduke's defence, and the rebels at length encamped before Vienna, in order to besiege their sovereign.

Ferdinand had sent his children from Gratz, where they were no longer safe, to Tirol; he himself awaited the insurgents in his capital. A handful of troops was all he could oppose to the enraged multitude, neither could any dependence be placed in these, being in want of pay, and even of bread. Vienna could not be expected to sustain a long siege; the Protestants formed the strongest party in the town, and were ready to join the Bohemians; those of the country had begun to

assemble troops. The people already thought they saw the Emperor shut up in a monastery, his territories divided, and his children become Protestants. Betrayed by private, and surrounded by open enemies, he hourly saw a more dangerous abyss before him. The Bohemians fired upon the Imperial palace, which was forcibly entered by sixteen Austrian Barons, who endeavoured to extort the Emperor's consent to a confederacy with the rebels of Bohemia. One of these proceeded so far as to seize him by the button of his waistcoat, and asked, „*Ferdinand, wilt thou sign it?*“

Who could be censured for yielding under such desperate circumstances? But Ferdinand reflected on his dignity. No alternative remained for him but flight or deceit; to the one he was advised by men of sense, to the other by priests. By abandoning Vienna, it fell into the hands of his enemies; Austria was lost, and with it the Imperial throne; Ferdinand would not leave his capital, and yet scorned to listen to an accommodation. It must be confessed that his conduct upon this occasion did honour to the Jesuits, who inspired him with such sentiments in his youth.

The Archduke was engaged in an altercation with the deputed Barons when the trumpets sounded on a sudden in the palace-yard; the consternation was universal, a dreadful report overspread the palace, the deputies fled one after the other, and many of the nobility were seen taking refuge in Thurn's camp. This important change was effected by a regiment of Dampierre's cuirassiers, who entered the city to defend the person of the Archduke; they were soon followed by infantry; and by many Catholic citizens encouraged by this reinforcement;

even the students armed themselves. To a report which spread beyond Bohemia he owed his safety; the Flemish general, Bucquoi, had totally defeated Count Mansfeld at Budweiss, and was proceeding against Prague. The Bohemians now speedily broke up their camp, to save their capital.

The passes of which the enemy had taken possession, to prevent Ferdinand from proceeding to his coronation at Frankfort, were now abandoned. The possession of the Imperial throne was never of so much consequence to the King of Hungary as at present, when the title of Emperor added dignity to his person, seemed to justify his cause, and to promise him succour from the Empire. But the same cabal which opposed him in his hereditary dominions, also pursued him in canvassing for the Imperial authority; it was resolved that no Austrian prince should mount the Emperor's throne, at least Ferdinand, the determined enemy of the Protestant religion, the slave of Spain, and of the Jesuits. To prevent this, even during the life of Matthias, the Imperial throne had been offered to the Duke of Bavaria, and on his declining it to the Duke of Savoy. As the conditions could not be so readily settled with the latter, it was resolved to delay his election until some decisive blow was struck in Bohemia or Austria, which would annihilate all the hopes of Ferdinand, and incapacitate him for this dignity. The members of the Union made great efforts to attach Saxony, which was in the Austrian interest, to themselves, and to represent to this court the dangers with which the Emperor's principles and his Spanish alliance threatened both the Protestant religion and the constitution of the Empire. By promoting the ac-

cession of Ferdinand to the Imperial throne, they said he espoused that prince's private quarrel, and drew on himself the indignation of Bohemia. But notwithstanding all opposition, the election of Ferdinand was resolved, as lawful King of Bohemia, and his vote in the College of Electors declared valid, notwithstanding the opposition of the Bohemians. He was master of the three ecclesiastical voices, and even Saxony favoured him; Brandenburg did not oppose him, and by a plurality of voices he was elected Emperor in 1619. The most uncertain of all his crowns he at length obtained, but only to lose it in a few days after he had thought it the best secured of all his possessions. While crowned Emperor at Frankfort, in Prague he abdicated the Bohemian throne.

Almost all his German dominions now entered into a formidable confederacy with the Bohemians, whose violence exceeded all reasonable bounds. On the 17th of August 1619, a general diet formally declared the Emperor an enemy to the Bohemian religion and liberty, by his pernicious counsels to the late King, his furnishing troops to invade them, introducing foreigners to ravage the country; and by his late contempt of the national independence in entering into a secret compact with Spain, to have forfeited all title to the crown; and proceeded to a new election. As this revolution was made by Protestants, the choice of a sovereign could not fall upon Catholic princes though, to save appearance, and diminish if possible, the number of their enemies, Bavaria and Savoy had some votes in their favour. But the violent animosities which divided the Calvinists and Lutherans, rendered the election, even of a

Protestant king, for a considerable time difficult, until at length the activity and address of the Calvinists prevailed over their Lutheran antagonists.

Among the princes who had any pretensions to this dignity, the Elector Palatine, Frederic V. had the greatest claim to the confidence and gratitude of the Bohemians; and there was no other under whose administration individual interests could so effectually promote themselves. Frederic V. possessed a lively disposition, uncommon goodness of heart, and great munificence; he was at the head of the Union in Germany, the leaders of which were at his disposal; a near relative to the Elector of Bavaria, against whose dangerous neighbourhood he might possibly secure the country, and a son-in-law to the King of Great Britain, who could powerfully support him. All these advantages were seized by the Calvinists, and Frederic V. was elected and solemnly invested with the crown of Bohemia.

The proceedings of the diet of Prague were premeditated, and Frederic had been too active to receive their offers with surprise; nevertheless the immediate weight of a crown intimidated him, and the double extent of his elevation and his misdemeanour shook his pusillanimity.

After the usual example of weak souls, he was willing to learn the opinions of foreign powers on this attempt; yet still he yielded to his passions. Saxony and Bavaria, which he consulted together with all his brother electors, warned him against the danger to which he exposed himself; even his father-in-law, King James of England, rather chose to have him deprived of a

crown, than to offend the sacred majesty of kings by so bad an example.

But prudential considerations were of little weight against passion and a sense of honour. After rejecting a race which had governed them for two centuries, a powerful nation had placed him at their head; confident in his resolution, they had chosen him as their leader in the dangerous career of fame and liberty; the adherents of an oppressed religion expected from him favour and protection. Could he in such circumstances betray apprehension, and abandon the cause both of religion and freedom? This nation displayed to him their strength, and the weakness of their enemies; two-thirds of its force armed against Austria, and a formidable confederacy appeared ready in Transilvania to employ its remaining strength. Were not these prospects calculated to excite his ambitious views, and such hopes to inspire him with resolution?

A few moments of reflection would, however, have sufficed to instruct him in the greatness of his attempt and the smallness of its reward; but encouragement inflamed his ambition, and the consequences did not appear to his prudence. It was his misfortune, that this most intimate friends only excited his passions; the aggrandizement of their sovereign's power gave his Palatine servants a wide field for extortion; the triumph of his church inflamed every Calvinist with enthusiasm. It was also natural that so weak a mind should yield to the flattery of his counsellors, who constantly magnified his authority and lessened that of his enemy; the exhortations of his chaplains persuaded him that the impulse of their fa-

natical zeal proceeded immediately from heaven; astrological reveries filled him with chimerical hopes, and he was even seduced from the rules of prudence by the invincible force of love. "You have espoused the daughter of a king," said his Electress to him, "and yet scruple to accept a throne which is unanimously offered to you; for my part, I would rather eat plain-bread at a royal, than feast sumptuously at an electoral table*".

Frederic accepted the crown of Bohemia; his coronation was celebrated at Prague with unexampled pomp, and the nation displayed all its riches to honour its own work. Silesia and Moravia followed the example of Bohemia, and yielded homage to the new king. The Reformation overspread the country; the rejoicings were boundless, and their respect for their new sovereign approached nearly to adoration. Denmark and Sweden, Holland and Venice, with several German states, acknowledged him as legitimate sovereign, and Frederic prepared to maintain his new crown.

His greatest expectations were placed on Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transilvania. This formidable enemy of Austria and of the Catholic religion, not satisfied with having wrested his principality, by the aid of the Turks, from its lawful prince, Gabriel Bathori, embraced this opportunity with eagerness to aggrandize himself at the expense of the Emperor, who refused to acknowledge him as sovereign of Transilvania. An

* These were the sentiments which she imbibed at the court of her father, James I.; sentiments he could inspire, but would not support her in; and he shamefully abandoned her to her fate. *Trans.*

attack upon Hungary and Austria was concerted with the Bohemian rebels, when both armies were to have marched to the capital. In the mean time Gabor concealed the true motive of his war-like preparations under the mask of friendship; and artfully promised the Emperor, under the appearance of assisting them, to lead the Bohemians into a snare, and deliver up their leaders alive to him.

On a sudden the enemy entered Upper Hungary, preceded by terror and followed by devastation; every thing yielded before him, and he even received the crown of Hungary at Presburg. The Emperor's brother, governor of Vienna, trembled for the safety of that capital, without delay he called General Bucquoi to his assistance. The absence of the Imperialists brought the Bohemian army a second time before Vienna; reinforced by 12,000 Transylvanians, and soon after joined by the victorious troops of Bethlen Gabor, it threatened Vienna anew. The country was laid waste to the gates of that city, the navigation of the Danube closed, supplies cut off, and the terrors of a famine were soon felt. Ferdinand, whom the impending danger had hastened back to his capital, saw himself a second time at the brink of destruction; a scarcity of provisions, and the inclemency of the weather, at length compelled the Bohemians to disperse. A check in Hungary recalled Bethlen Gabor, and fortune saved the Emperor a second time.

In a short period the scene was changed; Ferdinand improved by an active prudence the situation of his affairs; while Frederic, by indolence and impolitic measures, destroyed his own. The

states of Lower Austria were, by a confirmation of their privileges, induced to return to their allegiance; such as refused were outlawed, and declared guilty of high treason. By degrees the Emperor obtained a firm footing in his hereditary dominions, and then neglected no effort to procure foreign assistance; he had already, at the coronation at Frankfurt, received the verbal assurance of the ecclesiastical electors, and that of Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, at Munich, to espouse his cause. The fate of Ferdinand and of Frederic depended upon the share which the League and the Union would take in this war. It appeared to be the interest of all the Protestants in Germany to support the Bohemian King; the Catholics were equally interested in maintaining the Emperor's authority from ruin: by prevailing in Bohemia, the Protestants would inspire all the ecclesiastical princes in Germany with terror; by their defeat, the Emperor would be enabled to dictate to the Protestant powers of the Empire. Ferdinand, therefore, put the League, and Frederic the Union, in motion. The near alliance and personal attachment which the Duke of Bavaria bore the Emperor, his brother in law, with whom he was educated at Ingolstadt; zeal for the Catholic church, which was apparently in danger; the insinuations of the Jesuits, joined to the suspicious proceedings of the Union, induced the former, together with all the princes of the League, to espouse the Emperor's quarrel.

After having regulated the future grant of supplies for carrying on the war, and the indemnification of all losses, Maximilian assumed the unlimited command of the army of the League, which

was put in motion to assist the Emperor against the rebels of Bohemia.

The leaders of the Union, instead of endeavouring to prevent the League from uniting with the Emperor, on the contrary promoted it. If they could bring the League to take part in the war of Bohemia, it was but just they should follow the example; without the open hostility of the Catholics against the Union, the Protestants could expect to form no effectual confederacy. They chose the important conjuncture of the Bohemian league to demand redress from the Catholics for the grievances under which they had laboured, and an entire toleration of their religion. These demands, made in a decisive tone, were levelled against the Duke of Bavaria, who was at the head of the Catholics, and they required an immediate and decisive answer. Whether Maximilian declared for or against them, their point was gained; his concession deprived the Catholics of their most powerful supporter, his refusal armed the entire Protestant party, and rendered inevitable a war by which they hoped to attain their ends. Maximilian, firmly attached to the opposite party, took their demands as a formal declaration of war, and hastened hostilities. While Bavaria and the Catholics were now in arms for the Emperor, applications were made to Spain for subsidies; the difficulties which were caused in this negotiation by the indolence of the Spanish ministry, were fortunately surmounted by the Imperial ambassador at Madrid, Count Khevenhüller. Besides a supply of a million of florins, which were obtained gradually from that Court, it was resolved at the same

time to attack the Lower Palatinate from the Spanish Netherlands.

While they endeavoured to draw into the League all the Catholic powers, the Protestants laboured with equal zeal to augment their confederacy. The Elector of Saxony and several other Protestant states imagined it was the intention of the League to deprive them of the secularized chapters. The former was, however, pacified by a written assurance from Austria to the contrary, and he was already inclined towards the latter cause, from his private jealousy of the Palatine Elector, the exhortations of his chaplain, who was in the pay of Austria, and the mortification of not being set up a candidate for the crown of Bohemia. The fanaticism of the Lutherans could never forgive so many extensive territories for having embraced Calvinism, and substituted the Helvelian Antichrist for the Roman.

While Ferdinand made every effort to ameliorate his condition, Frederic acted in the very opposite manner. By his close connexion with the prince of Transylvania, the avowed ally of the Turks, he afforded a cause of jealousy to weak minds; and he was accused of gratifying his ambition at the expense of Christendom, and arming the Turks against Germany. His blind zeal for Calvinism was disagreeable to the Lutherans in Bohemia, while his destruction of their images incensed the Papists of that kingdom against him; new imposts lost him the affection of the people; the disappointed ambition of the Bohemian nobles abated their zeal in his cause, and the want of foreign aid rendered them more circumspect. Instead of devoting his time to the administration,

Frederic destined it to his amusements; instead of augmenting his treasure by a prudent economy, he lavished his revenues in theatrical pomp and ill-directed largesses; his new dignity inspired him with a careless levity, and in the intoxication of success he neglected to secure the possession of his crown.

So much were men disappointed in their expectations of him, and so much did he deceive himself with the hope of foreign assistance! Most of the members of the Union were diverted from its original intent by the occurrences in Bohemia; others were overawed by the Emperor. Ferdinand had gained over Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt to his party: Lower Austria, whence the greatest diversion was expected, submitted to the Emperor; Bethlen Gabor concluded a truce with him; the Court of Vienna, by means of embassies, succeeded in prevailing on the Danes to remain inactive, and Sweden was occupied by a war in Poland. The Dutch republic with difficulty supported itself against the Spanish arms; Venice and Savoy remained inactive; King James of England was overreached by the artifice of Spain. Friends and hopes vanished, the one after the other. So rapid was the alteration in the space of a few months!

Meanwhile the leaders of the Union assembled their army, and those of the League followed their example. The troops of the latter were at Donauwerth, under the orders of the Duke of Bavaria; those of the Union at Ulm, under the Margrave of Anspach. The decisive moment appeared at length to have arrived when the divisions of the Empire would be terminated by a decisive battle, and the future condition of both religions irrevoc-

cably settled; the expectations of all parties were raised to the utmost. How much were men astonished when the news of peace arrived, and both armies disbanded without striking a blow!

The mediation of France effected this peace, which was equally acceptable to both parties. The French ministry, no longer directed by a Henry the Great, whose maxims were not, perhaps, adapted to the present condition of that monarchy, now feared the increasing power of Austria much less than that of the Calvinists, if the Elector Palatine remained on the throne of Bohemia. England being engaged in a dangerous contest with its own Calvinist subjects, it had no nearer view than the suppression of the Protestants in Bohemia, before the Hugonots should follow the example of that party. To facilitate the conquest of Bohemia to Ferdinand, it had interposed its mediation, and obtained an unexpected treaty, the chief article of which was, "That the Union should renounce all interference in the transactions of Bohemia, and confine the aid which they were to afford Frederick V. to his Palatine territories." The Duke of Bavaria's firmness, and their apprehensions of an army of Spaniards, which was on its march from the Netherlands, prevailed upon the leaders of the Union to conclude this shameful treaty.

The Emperor was now at liberty to employ the whole force of Bavaria and of the League against the Bohemians, who, by the pacification of Ulm, were abandoned to their fate. By a rapid movement, and before intelligence of this treaty could arrive there, the Duke of Bavaria appeared in Lower Austria, where the states, astonished, and prepared for no enemy, purchased the Emperor's

favour by an immediate and unlimited submission. Here he called the troops of the Low Countries, under Count Bucquoi, to his assistance; and this united Imperial-Bavarian army, 50,000 men strong, immediately fell into Bohemia. They drove before them all the Bohemian parties which were spread over Lower Austria and Moravia; every town that attempted resistance was taken by storm; and the rest, from fear of chastisement, voluntarily submitted. The Duke's progress was uninterrupted; the Bohemian army, commanded by the brave Prince Christian of Anhalt, retired to the neighbourhood of Prague, where the Duke of Bavaria gave them battle.

The bad condition in which he expected to find the army of the rebels, justified this rapidity in the Duke's motions, and assured him the victory. Frederic had not assembled 30,000 men; the Prince of Anhalt brought 8000, and Bethlen Gabor 10,000 men to his assistance. An irruption of the Elector of Saxony into Lusatia had deprived him of the succour which he expected from that country and from Silesia, to enable him to subdue Austria; Bethlen Gabor, his most powerful ally, remained tranquil, the Union having betrayed him to the Emperor. Frederic had nothing remaining but Bohemia, and this kingdom wanted fidelity, union, and courage; the Bohemian rebels were offended at being subjected to German generals, and Count Mansfeld remained in Pilsen, at a distance from the camp, to avoid the mortification of serving under Anhalt and Hohenloh. The soldiers, in want of necessaries, lost courage, and loud complaints were made by the inhabitants of their want of subordination. It was in vain that Frederic made

his appearance in the camp to inspire the nobles by his example.

The Bohemians began to intrench themselves on the White Mountain near Prague, when the united Imperial-Bavarian armies attacked them on the 8th of November 1620. In the beginning of the action some advantages were obtained by the Prince of Anhalt's cavalry, but these were soon counterbalanced by the superior numbers of the enemy; the shock of the Bavarians and Walloons was irresistible, and the Hungarian horse were the first who abandoned the field of battle; their example was followed by the Bohemian infantry, and the Germans were at length drawn into universal confusion; ten cannon, in which consisted all Frederic's artillery, fell into the enemy's hands; four thousand Bohemians were killed upon the spot; only a few hundred Imperialists and troops of the League fell. In less than an hour this decisive battle was ended.*

Frederic beheld from Prague the defeat of his army. Apprehensive of no attack, he had on this day ordered an entertainment; he was at length aroused on beholding the slaughter of his troops. He requested a cessation of hostilities for twenty-

* With this battle terminated for ever the liberties of Bohemia. It is to be remarked, that this people, who had shown so early an attachment to civil and religious liberty, are now the most slavish in the Emperor's dominions: so much does oppression degrade the mind! Their misfortune was, not to have elected for king a prince of Saxony, instead of the timid Frederic. It is also to be remarked, that this people; so stupidly obedient, form at this day the best disciplined and the most intrepid soldiers in the Austrian army. Habits of obedience to their lords, and veneration for their sovereign, supply the place of patriotism. *Trans.*

four hours: eight was all the Duke of Bavaria would grant him. Frederic took advantage of these to fly from Prague in the night, accompanied by his queen and the chiefs of his army; their departure was effected in such haste, that the Prince of Anhalt forgot his private papers, and Frederic his crown. "I know not what I am," said that unfortunate prince to those who administered consolation to him; "there are virtues which we are taught by adversity, and it is only from misfortune that we princes acquire a knowledge of our own characters."

Prague was not yet totally lost without Frederic's pusillanimity; Mansfeld's corps was still at Pilsen, and was not engaged in the action; Bethlen was enabled to commence hostilities, and draw the Emperor's army to the borders of Hungary; the vanquished Bohemians could recover themselves; sickness, hunger, and the inclemency of the weather, might defeat the enemy: but these hopes were extinguished by the immediate consternation.

Frederic dreaded the inconstancy of the Bohemians, who, by the delivery of his person, might be tempted to seek the Emperor's pardon.

Thurn, and those of his party who were equally obnoxious, found it imprudent to await their destiny within the walls of Prague. They took refuge in Moravia, and soon after in Transilvania. Frederic fled to Breslau, where, after remaining a short time, he removed to the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, and from thence to Holland.

The battle of Prague had decided the fate of Bohemia. Prague surrendered the next day to the conquerors, and its example was followed by the remaining towns of the kingdom. The states

yielded unconditionally; Moravia and Silesia followed their example. The Emperor suffered three months to elapse before he took cognisance of past events. Many of those who had fled in the beginning now appeared in the capital, full of confidence in this apparent clemency: but the storm suddenly arose; forty-eight of the principal rebels were arrested and tried before an extraordinary commission, composed of native Austrians and Bohemians; twenty-seven expired on the scaffold: an incredible number of the common people were executed. The emigrated were cited to appear; and as they did not present themselves, they were declared guilty of high treason, condemned to death, their estates confiscated, and their names affixed to the gallows: the estates of deceased rebels were even confiscated: this was, however, the more tolerable, because the plunder of one individual enriched another. But oppression was extended to the whole kingdom, and soon after to the whole Empire, from which both the Protestant parties were expelled. Ferdinand tore the *letter of majesty* with his own hand, and burned the seal. Seven years after the battle of Prague every indulgence was withdrawn from the Bohemian Protestants. But while so severe against their religion, he was reserved towards their civil constitution, and he magnanimously permitted the Bohemians to tax themselves.

The victory of Prague put Ferdinand in possession of all his dominions, and even increased his authority beyond that of his predecessors. By it his desires were gratified beyond his most sanguine expectations.

It was now in his power to dismiss his allies,

and his army. At all events the war was at an end; and, if just and merciful, he would desist from oppression. The fate of Germany was now in his hands, and the happiness or misery of many millions of people depended upon the measures he would follow. But the intoxication of success never caused more dreadful consequences.

BOOK II.

THE resolution which Ferdinand now embraced changed both the direction and the scene of the war. From a war in Bohemia, and the chastisement of the rebels, its flames were soon extended to Germany, and speedily after to all Europe. It may not be improper, at this period, to take a view of the state of affairs in the Empire, and in the rest of Europe.

The Catholics and Protestants were so divided in Germany, that each party required the closest union to maintain itself against the other. If the Catholics were the more numerous party, and the most favoured by the constitution of the Empire, the Protestants had the advantage of possessing a more compact and populous territory, able princes, large armies, flourishing free cities, together with the command of the sea, besides, at the worst extremity, being secure of a strong support in the Catholic countries. Should the Catholics arm Spain and Italy in their favour, the Protestants could call to their aid the republics of Holland and Venice, the northern powers, and the more formidable one of the Turks. Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate opposed three Protestant votes to three Catholic electorates, and the Character of Emperor was a check upon the electorate of Bohemia, if the Protestants thought proper to exert their strength. The power of the Union might easily counterbalance that of the

League, or, if a war actually broke out, render its issue doubtful. But private dissensions destroyed the political union which the Protestant states had formed among themselves. The critical moment was neglected, because those who had the courage to profit by it wanted power, and those who possessed ability wanted vigour.

By the merits of his ancestor Maurice, the extent of his territories, and the weight of his influence, the Elector of Saxony was naturally regarded as the head of the Protestants in Germany. On his influence depended the decision of the victory which either party was to obtain: neither was John George, the present Elector, insensible to the advantages which his present situation might obtain. He openly rejected a neutrality between both parties, determined to devote himself entirely to one, and either, by declaring for the Emperor, to attach that prince to him from motives of gratitude, or by an opposite conduct to intimidate him. Governed neither by that religious or romantic enthusiasm which led so many sovereigns to risk both their lives and authority, John George wisely adopted prudential maxims of policy. He was accused of betraying the cause of the Protestants; of having preferred the aggrandizement of his own power to the safety of his country; of having exposed all the Protestants of Germany, from hatred to the Calvinists; and, by his suspicious conduct, of having caused them more evil than by his open enmity. But the princes who made those complaints were imprudent in not pursuing the politics of this Elector. If the Saxons deplored the cruelties which attended the Emperor's progress, if all Germany saw how Ferdinand deceived

his allies and violated his promises, if the Elector himself at length perceived it, it was the more shameful for the Emperor to abuse the confidence placed in him.

While the Elector of Saxony was restrained within bounds by his too great reliance on the House of Austria, and his hopes of increasing his dominions, the fear of Austria, and the apprehensions of losing his electorate, retained the weak George William of Brandenburg in a disgraceful awe. The Elector Palatine had even by his ruin preserved himself and his people from the reproaches which were made to both those princes. Rash expectations, a vain reliance on his strength, and the alluring prospect of a crown, had impelled that unfortunate prince to an undertaking to which neither his genius nor his power were equal. By the division of his territories, and the bad understanding of his servants, the power of the Palatinate was enfeebled, which, under proper direction, might have still rendered the war a long time doubtful.

Even this participation of his territories also hurt the princes of Hesse, by the enmity which their difference of religion caused between the Houses of Cassel and Darmstadt. The latter adhered to the confession of Augsburg, and put itself under the Emperor's protection, who favoured it at the expense of the Calvinists of Cassel. While the adherents of his religion fought for liberty of conscience, George Landgrave of Darmstadt received subsidies from the Emperor. But true to the principles of his ancestor, who a century before ventured to defend the liberties of Germany against the formidable Charles V. William

Landgrave von Hesse-Cassel embraced the cause of honour and of danger. Superior to the pusillanimity which retained so many more powerful princes in awe of the Emperor, William was the first who dared to join the Swedes, and offered to the German princes an example which none were inclined to imitate. His resolution was equalled by his perseverance, and supported by the heroism of his actions. With the boldest resolution he bid defiance to an enemy which had already triumphed over Magdeburg.

This Landgrave has fair claims to immortality. The day of vengeance must be slowly awaited by the never-to-be-forgotten prince John Frederic. But finally did that day arrive. His principles at length succeeded, and his heroic spirit was inherited by his grandson. An intrepid race of princes came from the Thuringian forests to vindicate his injured reputation, and his loss of the electoral dignity. The sentence of his enemy could deprive him of his dominion, but not of that patriotic spirit and romantic courage which a century afterwards inspired his grandson. His animosity against the race of Habsburg was bequeathed by him to his posterity. The duty which they could not fulfil as *princes* they executed as *men*, and died in a glorious cause—the bravest champions of liberty. Too weak to bring their own armies into the field, they showed to those of foreign powers the road to victory against their enemies.

The German liberties, abandoned by the states who were most concerned in their preservation, were defended by a few princes who were scarce interested in the event. Power produced indolence; necessity formed heroes. While Saxony, Branden-

burg, &c. showed signs of fear, Anhalt, Mansfeld, the Princes of Weimar, and others, were seen to risk their persons in bloody battles. The Dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburg Luneburg, Wirtemberg, and the free cities of Upper Germany, overawed by the Emperor's power, avoided the contest, and quietly submitted to him.

Austria, and the Catholic party in Germany, possessed, in the person of the Duke of Bavaria, a defender equally powerful and prudent. Attentive during the whole course of the war to a fixed plan, never divided between his religion and his political interests, Maximilian owed to it the authority and accession of territory, for which he was not indebted to fortune. The other Catholic states, principally ecclesiastical princes, too unwarlike to resist the fanatical opinions which prevailed in their territories, were contented to persecute in the cabinet and the pulpit those whom they durst not oppose in the field. Slaves to Austria or Bavaria, they all vanished before this prince; and it was only in the hand of Maximilian that their power was of any consequence.

The formidable monarchy which Charles V. and his son had unnaturally united, comprising the Netherlands, Milan, both Sicilies, and the extensive East and West Indian possessions, began to decline under Philipp III. and IV. Exalted by fruitless treasure, this power slowly degenerated, when deprived of the radical support of states—agriculture. Its conquests in the West Indies reduced Spain to poverty, while the bankers of Antwerp, Venice, and Genoa, negotiated with the gold which was still buried in the mines of Peru. India depopulated the Spanish monarchy; its treasures had the

same consequences in endeavouring to reconquer Holland, in the chimerical plan of changing the French succession, and in an unfortunate attempt upon England.* But the bride of this court had survived its power, and its animosity, the dread of its enemies. The distrust which the Protestants entertained of Philipp III. and the reliance which the latter placed on Spanish assistance, excited among the Catholics the greatest confidence. Outward splendour concealed the inward weakness of this monarchy, and its self-importance was sustained by the high tone which it still held. Slaves in their palaces, and even strangers upon their own throne, the nominal kings of Spain prescribed laws for their German relations; and it may be doubted whether their support was worth the state of dependance by which the Emperor purchased it. On the other side of the Pyrenean mountains ignorant monks decided the fate of Europe. But under every disadvantage, a power must still be formidable which in extent yielded to none in Europe, which stedfastly persevered in the same system of policy, possessed excellent troops and consummate generals, and where open force could not reach, would not scruple to employ the assassin's dagger, and convert its very ambassadors into incendiaries. What it lost in three quarters of the globe it now sought to recover to the eastward; and all Europe lay at its mercy, if its junction with the hereditary dominions of Austria between the Alps and the Adriatic sea could be effected.

This formidable power had introduced itself into that country, and its open steps towards aggran-

* The Spanish Armada. *Trans.*

disement caused the neighbouring sovereigns to tremble for the safety of their dominions. The Pope himself was in the most dangerous situation, having the Spanish viceroy of Naples on one side, and that of Milan on the other; Venice was surrounded by Austrian Tyrol and Spanish Milan; and Savoy was alarmed at the vicinity of the latter, and of France. Hence arose the doubtful and variable system of politics which the Italian government pursued since the reign of Charles V. The double capacity of the popedom was obliged to follow different systems. If the Pope, as successor of St. Peter, found the utmost support in the crown of Spain, yet, as a sovereign, he had in this same power the most dangerous neighbour. If in the one capacity he was interested in the destruction of the Protestant religion, and in beholding Austria triumphant, in the other he must rejoice at the successes of the Protestants, which deprived a dangerous neighbour of the power of doing him injury. The one or the other sentiment prevailed, according as the Popes were embarrassed by their spiritual or temporal interests; but Rome's policy was generally directed to avert immediate danger: and it is generally acknowledged, that mankind are more excited in maintaining than regaining lost possessions. This explains the motive of the Pope's favouring both the Emperor and the Protestant party. How uncommon are the features of human history! What would have been the fate of the Reformation, and the liberty of the German princes, if the Pope, as bishop and sovereign, had united both his spiritual and temporal interests?

France, with its great Henry, had lost its po-

litical weight in the general system of Europe. A turbulent minority had destroyed all the good effects of the preceding reign. Weak ministers, the creatures of intrigue and court favour, squandered in a few years the treasures which the economy of Sully and Henry IV. had collected. Scarce able to contain themselves against interior factions, they were necessitated to relinquish European politics. The same civil commotions which raged in Germany also prevailed in France; and Louis XIII. at his majority, found himself engaged not only in a war with his Protestant subjects, but even with his own mother. The French Protestants, held in subjection by Henry's enlightened policy, now seized upon the opportunity of taking up arms, and, under some resolute leaders, formed a party, of which they fixed upon the important town of Rochelle as the capital. Not possessing sagacity sufficient to stifle those religious dissensions by a toleration at their birth, and not sufficiently master of his dominions to carry on a war with effect, Louis XIII. soon found himself under the humiliating necessity of purchasing the submission of the insurgents by money. Though led by policy to support the rebels of Bohemia against Austria, Henry IV.'s son must behold quietly their ruin; sufficiently fortunate in preventing his own Protestant subjects from forming a junction with them. A great genius at the helm of state would have reduced the Protestants of France to obedience while he supported those of Germany; but Henry IV. was no more, and Richelieu had not yet revived his system of politics.

While France lost the remains of its former glory, the new republic of Holland laid the found-

dation of its future greatness. The enthusiasm by which the race of Orange had transformed that mercantile people into a nation of heroes, was not yet extinguished, and had enabled them to establish their independence, after a bloody war with Spain. Mindful of the gratitude they owed to foreign assistance, these republicans were eager to espouse the cause of their confederates in Germany, with whose independence their own was so closely connected. But a republic which fought for its own existence, which must still employ the greatest efforts to oppose a superior enemy, even upon its own territories, could not be expected to turn its means of self-defence to the assistance of foreign states.

England also, though united with Scotland, possessed, under the feeble administration of James I. no longer the same weight which it obtained by the great genius of its queen Elizabeth among the powers of Europe. Convinced that the welfare of her dominions depended upon the security of the Protestants, that sagacious queen laid it down as a principle to promote every undertaking of that party which tended to diminish the power of Austria. Her successor possessed neither the courage nor the power of pursuing her measures. While the economical Elizabeth opened her treasure to assist the Flemings against Spain, and to support Henry IV. against the League, James abandoned his daughter, grandson, and son-in-law, to the fury of his enemies. While this prince exhausted all his rhetoric to deduce the rights of kings from heaven, he degraded his earthly dominion in the eyes of his subjects. While he preached about the absoluteness of kingly power, he

reminded the people of England of their rights, and by an useless expense of treasure abridged his most important prerogative, while he endeavoured to subdue his parliament, and suppress the voice of liberty. A natural horror of a naked sword intimidated him from engaging in the present war*; his favourite, Buckingham, also abused his weakness, and his own vanity rendered him an easy dupe to Spanish arts. While his son-in-law's affairs were ruined in Germany, and his grandson's inheritance was alienated, this vain old man amused himself with a treaty of marriage which Spain and Savoy held out to him. In order to divert his attention from the war in Germany, a daughter-in-law was offered to him in Madrid, and he even encouraged his son in the romantic scheme of paying his personal addresses to the princess. His son lost the Spanish bride, as his son-in-law had the crown of Bohemia and the Palatinate; and death only saved himself the mortification of concluding his peaceful administration by a war which he had not the courage to wage at a distance.

The civil commotions excited by this prince's incapacity broke out into a furious rebellion under the reign of his unfortunate son, and compelled the latter, after some inconsiderable efforts, to relinquish every share in the German war, in order to oppose the rage of factions in his own kingdom, to which he at last became the deplorable victim.

* This was owing to the fright, as is reported, which his mother received while pregnant of him, from the assassins of Rizzio, her favourite. The same fear of a drawn sword is ascribed by Plutarch and Polybius to the Achean general Aratus, who, on that account, executed his expeditions in the night-time. *Trans.*

Two illustrious monarchs, unequal in personal merit, but distinguished alike by their power and thirst of fame, excited during that period the attention of the northern part of Europe. Under the long and active reign of Christian IV. Denmark became a considerable power. The personal accomplishments of this prince, an excellent navy, a formidable army, well-regulated finances, and prudent alliances, contributed to secure the interior prosperity and exterior consequence of that kingdom. Sweden had been rescued by Gustavus Vasa from vassalage, and by its new organization became an important power in the European system of politics. The outline which was traced by this great prince was brought to a conclusion by his still greater descendant, Gustavus Adolphus.

Both kingdoms, formerly united under one monarchy, and enfeebled by this union, were forcibly separated by the Reformation; and this separation was the epocha of their prosperity. This unnatural union was not more disadvantageous, than their subsequent alliance was to their mutual advantage. On both the Protestant church depended, and they were alike interested in preserving the dominion of the sea: they were also equally united against a common enemy; but their long division retarded their sincere union. The Danish kings would never renounce their right to the crown of Sweden, nor those of Sweden forget the former tyranny of the Danes. The borders of both states, so near each other, continually excited their mutual jealousies, and the vigilance of their sovereigns; and their inevitable jealousy of trade in the Baltic perpetually caused disputes between them.

Amid the means by which Gustavus Vasa, the

legislator of the Swedish monarchy, endeavoured to establish its constitution, the reformation of religion was the principal. A fundamental law excluded the followers of popery from all places in the administration, and forbade the future sovereigns of Sweden from altering the national religion; but Gustavus's second son and successor, John, had already embraced popery, and his son Sigismund, also King of Poland, had indulged himself in measures hostile to the reigning religion. To this the states made a violent resistance, and, headed by Charles Duke of Sudermania, commenced a civil war between the uncle and nephew. Charles took advantage of Sigismund's long absence in Poland, and the first displeasure of the states, to open himself and his posterity a way to the throne. His ambition was favoured by the imprudent measures of Sigismund. A general diet undertook to change the right of succession, and lay aside that of primogeniture which Gustavus Vasa had established, and placed the Duke of Sudermania on the throne, by which Sigismund and his posterity were excluded.

The son of this prince, who reigned under the title of Charles IX. was father of the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus, whom the adherents of Sigismund affected to treat as an usurper. But when animosity arises between the sovereign and his people, when the sentiments of the latter are respected, a nation, by its unanimous voice, may sometimes be permitted to renounce its allegiance to one sovereign, and to supply his place by another more able to govern it.

Gustavus Adolphus had not as yet attained his seventeenth year when he succeeded to the throne

by the death of his father: but the early indications he gave of genius induced the states to abridge the period of his minority. By a victory over himself he opened a reign of uninterrupted splendour. The young Countess of Brahe had gained his early affections; and, though the daughter of a subject, he seriously determined to share with her his throne. But diverted by the present circumstances from his attachment, he now devoted his whole time to the affairs of state, and the thirst of glory again took possession of a bosom which was not exclusively destined for the happiness of any one human being.

Christian IV. king of Denmark, who had ascended the throne before Gustavus's birth, had made an inroad into the borders of Sweden, and obtained considerable advantages over the father of that hero. Gustavus Adolphus hastened to conclude this ruinous war, and by prudent sacrifices obtained a peace, in order to turn his arms against the Czar of Muscovy. Never to obtain the equivocal renown of a conqueror, did he expend, in unjust wars, the blood of his people: at the same time he never abandoned his just pretensions. His arms were crowned with success against Russia, and Sweden was augmented by several extensive provinces upon its eastern frontiers.

In the mean time Sigismund King of Poland retained against the son the same inveterate hatred he had against the father, and used every artifice to detach the subjects of Gustavus Adolphus from their allegiance, to render his enemies implacable, and his allies indifferent. Neither the great qualities of his antagonist, nor the attachment of the Swedes to their new king, whom they loved to

adoration, could deter that imprudent prince from the vain hope of reascending the lost throne. All Gustavus's offers of peace he rejected with scorn, and the Swedish king saw himself engaged, from necessity, in a war which ended in his taking possession of all Livonia and Polish Prussia. Continually victorious, Gustavus Adolphus was ever the first to enter into a pacification.

This contest between Sweden and Poland took place in the commencement of the thirty years war in Germany, with which it is connected. The circumstance of Sigismund's being a Catholic prince, was sufficient to secure him the alliance of Spain and Austria; a closer connexion with the Emperor gave him a double claim to that prince's support. The reliance upon this was what prevailed upon the Polish king to engage in a war which terminated so much to his disadvantage; and promises were all that he obtained from the courts of Madrid and Vienna. While Sigismund lost possession of Livonia, Courland, and Prussia, he saw his allies in Germany, by an uninterrupted series of victories, make rapid strides to universal dominion. It was not then surprising if his animosity to Sweden kept pace with his losses; the warmth with which he prosecuted his chimerical schemes did not permit him to discern the artful policy of his enemies, who only wished to occupy the Swedish hero at his expense, in order to bring the German liberties under their subjection, and then fall on the exhausted North as an easy conquest. But an unforeseen circumstance, Gustavus's heroic spirit, confounded this false system of politics; an eight years war in Poland, instead of diminishing the power of Sweden, only served to

bring Gustavus's military skill to maturity, to form his troops into veterans, and gradually to prepare a system of warfare, by which he afterwards performed such exploits in Germany.

After this necessary digression upon the situation of the European states during that period, I shall now resume the thread of my narration.

Ferdinand had recovered his dominions, but not indemnified himself for the expenses which it had cost him to reconquer them. Forty millions of florins, which the confiscations in Bohemia produced, would have sufficed to indemnify the costs of himself and his allies; but that immense sum was soon squandered among the Jesuits and his favourites. The Duke of Bavaria, to whose victorious arms Ferdinand was almost entirely indebted for the recovery of his dominions, who had abandoned a nearer relation to devote himself to the service of his religion and that of Ferdinand, had the fairest claims to that Emperor's gratitude; and in an agreement which he had made with the latter before the war, had expressly stipulated the reimbursement of his expenses. Ferdinand felt the power of this promise, and the weight of the service which was rendered him, but was not disposed to reward them at his own cost; his intention was to recompense the Duke in a more brilliant manner. To accomplish this purpose, no better plan could be devised than to bestow upon him the dominions of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, who by his revolt had appeared in some measure to merit chastisement in the eyes of the world. Frederic must therefore be further persecuted and totally ruined, because Maximilian must

be rewarded, and a new war commenced in order to defray the expenses of an old one.

But a motive of a very different nature confirmed this resolution: Ferdinand had hitherto combated only for existence; but now victorious, he remembered his higher duties, and the vow which he had made to the blessed Virgin of Loretto, of increasing her dominion at the risk of his life and crown. With this vow the oppression of the Protestants was inseparably connected; a more favourable opportunity for its fulfilment could not present itself than the present termination of the Bohemian war; he possessed the power and an appearance of justice in placing the Palatinate in Catholic hands; and this conquest was of the greatest consequence to the Catholics of Germany. While he rewarded the Duke of Bavaria with the spoils of his kinsman, he gratified his meanest passions; while he fulfilled his duty, he crushed an enemy whom he hated; and he saved his ambition a severe sacrifice, while he thought himself promoting the interests of Heaven.

The ruin of Frederic was already resolved on in the Emperor's cabinet long before fortune declared against him; but it was only after the latter event that he felt the full force of this resolution. A decree of the Emperor, destitute of all the formalities required upon such an occasion, declared the Elector Palatine, and three other princes who had borne arms for him in Silesia and Bohemia, traitors towards the Emperor, disturbers of the public peace, and deprived them of their rights and territories. The execution of this sentence, viz. the conquest of Frederic's dominions, in order still further to insult the laws of the

Empire, was entrusted to the crown of Spain, as sovereign of the circle of Burgundy, the Duke of Bavaria, and the members of the League. Had the Evangelic Union been worthy of the name which it bore, and the cause which it defended, the execution of this decree would have met with insurmountable obstacles; but a contemptible military force, which was scarcely able to resist the Spanish army in the Lower Palatinate, must yield before the united force of Austria, Bavaria, and the League. The sentence which the diet pronounced upon the Elector, detached the free cities immediately from the confederacy, and the princes soon followed their example. Esteeming themselves sufficiently fortunate in saving their dominions, they abandoned the Elector, their former chief, to his fate, renounced the Union, and determined to renew it no more.

Thus did the German princes shamefully desert the unfortunate Frederic; and Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, yielded to the Emperor; while a single man, a child of fortune, whose riches consisted in his sword, Ernest Count Mansfeld, dared, in the Bohemian town of Pilsen, to defy the whole power of Austria. Left without assistance by the Elector, to whose service he had devoted himself, and uncertain whether this prince would be grateful to him for his attachment, he defended the town a considerable time against the Imperial troops, until his garrison having mutined from want of pay, sold it to the enemy. Undismayed by this reverse, he soon after established *depots* in the Upper Palatinate, to enlist the troops who were disbanded by the members of the Union. An army of 20,000 men was soon collected under

his orders, the more formidable to the country, as it subsisted only by plunder. All the neighbouring bishoprics trembled for their riches. But Mansfeld was forced to retire before the Duke of Bavaria, who, as executor of the decree of the diet, entered the Upper Palatinate. After having by a fortunate stratagem eluded the Bavarian general Tilly, he suddenly appeared in the Lower Palatinate, and exercised upon the bishoprics of the Rhine the severities which he had intended against those of Franconia. While the Imperial-Bavarian army over-ran Bohemia, a considerable body of troops under Ambrosé Spinola, the Spanish general, entered the Lower Palatinate, though the treaty of Ulm permitted the Union to protect this territory. But measures were so ill concerted, that one place fell after the other into the enemy's hands and the greater part of the country was in possession of the troops of Spain. The Spanish general Cordova suddenly raised the siege of Frankenthal when Mansfeld entered the Lower Palatinate; but instead of expelling the Spaniards from this province, he hastened to cross the Rhine to subsist his needy troops in Alsace; the dreadful devastation which those troops had occasioned in the open country, was avoided in the towns, which saved themselves by large contributions from plunder. Reinforced by this expedition, Mansfeld again appeared on the Rhine to cover the Lower Palatinate.

While such a general existed, Frederic's ruin was not irremediable; now prospects opened themselves to his view, and his misfortunes acquired him friends who were neuter in his prosperity. King James of England, who had with indifference

beheld his son-in-law lose the Bohemian throne, was at length aroused from his inactivity when the victorious enemy proceeded to make attempts upon the electoral dignity. He, however, too late opened his treasures, and supported Count Mansfeld with troops and money in the Lower Palatinate; his near relation, Christian King of Denmark, was engaged in the quarrel by his means. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland deprived the Emperor of every hope of succour from the Netherlands; the Protestants received very important promises, on the contrary, from Transilvania and Hungary. The cessation of hostilities between Bethlen Gabor and the Emperor was no sooner ended, than that implacable enemy of Austria over-ran Hungary, and caused himself to be crowned as king in Presburg; so rapid was his progress; that Bucquoi was obliged to abandon Bohemia, in order to defend Hungary against Gabor. That consummate general, however, fell at the siege of Neuhäusel, and Dampierre, his brave companion, had already shared the same fate before Presburg. Gabor's progress into the Austrian territories were irresistible; the old Count Thurn, and several other Bohemian noblemen of distinction, had joined this formidable enemy against the Emperor. Had a vigorous attack been made on the side of Germany, while Gabor employed the Emperor's arms in Hungary, it might have speedily retrieved Frederic's losses; but by a peculiar misfortune, both Gabor and the Germans always laid down their arms alternately, according as the one or the other had uplifted them.

Meantime Frederic had not delayed to join

Mansfeld; he entered in disguise the Lower Palatinate, where possession was disputed between Mansfeld and the Bavarian general Tilly. A ray of hope appeared when new allies arose from the ruins of the Union. George Frederic, Margrave of Baden, had for some time begun to assemble a military force, which soon grew into a considerable army; its destination was a secret until it suddenly took the field and joined Count Mansfeld; his margraviate he had already resigned to his son, in order, if fortune should be unpropitious, to avert by this stratagem the consequences of the Emperor's indignation. The Duke of Wirtemberg also began to augment his army; the Palatine was by these means encouraged to make efforts to revive the Union. Tilly was now constrained to consult his own safety, and he called with the utmost haste the Spanish general Cordova to his assistance. But while their enemies united, Mansfeld separated from the Margrave of Baden, and the latter was defeated by the Bavarian general in 1622 at Wimpfen.

An adventurer without money, the legitimacy of whose birth was even disputed, had shown himself the defender of a king, whom his nearest relations, and even his own father-in-law, abandoned. A sovereign left his territories, where he reigned in peace, for the uncertain prospect of possessing a foreign crown at the hazard of a war; an inexperienced champion, weak in strength, but illustrious by descent, he undertook the defence of a cause which he had not courage to prosecute. Christian Duke of Brunswick, administrator of Halberstadt, appeared to have borrowed from Mansfeld the idea of maintaining an army of 20,000 men

without pay. Excited by youthful impetuosity, and eager to obtain reputation at the expense of the Catholic clergy, whom he cordially detested, and also desirous of plunder, he assembled a considerable army in Lower Saxony, under the pretext of espousing Frederic's cause and Germany's freedom. *Friend to God and enemy to priesthood*, was the motto he chose for his standards, and for his coin, composed of church plate; and to this he rigidly adhered in his conduct.

The progress of this banditti was distinguished, as usual, by the most terrible devastations. Enriched by the spoils of the Lower Saxon and Westphalian chapters, they collected force sufficient to plunder the bishoprics of the Upper Rhine; expelled from thence both by friends and enemies, the Administrator marched to the town of Hoechst, upon the Mayn, which he passed after a murderous action with Tilly, who disputed with him the passage of that river. With the loss of half his army, he reached the opposite banks, where he collected its broken remains, at whose head he joined Count Mansfeld. Pursued by Tilly, their united forces threw themselves into Alsace, in order to renew their former ravages. While the Elector Frederic followed as a fugitive the standards of an army which still acknowledged him as king, and flattered him with that title, his friends were busied in effecting his reconciliation with the Emperor. Ferdinand had not yet deprived these of hopes of reinstating Frederic in his dignity as Elector Palatine; full of artifice and cunning, he pretended to be willing to enter into a negotiation, which would damp their ardour in the field and prevent extremities. King James of England, ever

the dupe of Austrian cunning, contributed by his ridiculous interference to promote the Emperor's schemes; above all things, Ferdinand required Frederic to lay down his arms if he depended upon his clemency, and James found this demand uncommonly reasonable. At his instigation the Elector dismissed his only defenders, Count Mansfeld and the Administrator, and awaited in Holland his destiny from the Emperor's clemency.

Mansfeld and Duke Christian were now embarrassed from the want of a new cause of tumult; the defence of the Elector Palatine had set them in motion, and his dismissal could not disarm them: a war was their only wish, regardless of the cause in which it was waged. After some vain efforts of Mansfeld to be taken into the Emperor's service, both of these leaders went to Lorraine, where the irregularities committed by their troops excited terror even in the interior of France. Here they long remained in a disagreeable state of dependance upon a master who hesitated to employ them, until the Dutch, hard pressed by the Spanish general Spinola, offered to take them into pay. After a murderous action with the Spaniards at Fleurus, where the latter endeavoured to intercept them, they made their way into Holland, and compelled the Spanish general to raise the siege of Bergen-op-zoom. But even Holland was soon weary of their unwelcome guests, and took the first opportunity of declining their services. In the rich province of East Friesland, Mansfeld prepared his troops for new enterprises. The Duke of Brunswic, passionately enamoured of the Electress Palatine, whom he had known in Holland, and more disposed for war than ever, led back his troops to Lower Sax-

ony, bearing as a cockade the glove of that princess in his hat, and on his standards the following motto: "*All for God and you.*" Neither was either as yet destined to conclude his career in this war.

The Imperial territories were now freed from their enemies, the Union dissolved, the Margrave of Baden, Mansfeld, and the Duke of Brunswick beaten out of the field, and the Palatinate overrun by the executive troops of the Empire*. Mannheim and Heidelberg yielded to the Bavarians, and in a short time Frankenthal was in possession of the Spaniards. The Elector Palatine shamefully concealed himself in a corner of Holland, to appease, by an abject submission, the Emperor's vengeance. An electoral diet at Ratisbon was at length appointed to decide his fate. This resolution had long been formed by the Court of Vienna; but it had not hitherto found an opportunity of putting it in execution. After the steps already taken against this Elector, Ferdinand thought no further measures should be held with him. Security was only to be obtained by excessive severity. Frederick must, therefore, reconcile himself to his losses; and a prince without dominions or subjects could no longer possess the Electoral dignity. The Duke of Bavaria exalted himself upon the ruins of this prince. In proportion as the hatred of the Catholics and of Austria increased against the Protestants of the Palatinate, the more they were indebted to Bavarian zeal. At length, by the cession of the electorate Palatine to that of Bavaria, the Catholic religion acquired a decisive weight

* In case any one state of the Empire is refractory, the army of a neighbouring territory is ordered to execute the sentence of the diet. This happened at Liege in 1590. *Trans.*

in the Collège of Electors, and obtained it a lasting victory in Germany.

This was sufficient to secure the three ecclesiastical electorates; the vote of that of Saxony was alone of consideration among the Protestants. But could this Elector oppose the Emperor in a dispute which involved his title? To a prince who had staked his all at the head of the Protestants of Germany, nothing would be more dear than the defence of their cause against popery. But the present question was, which religion should be victorious, and who should obtain possession of the Palatine territories, and, under the pressure of opposite duties, to conceal private hatred and interests. In his proceedings against the Palatinate the opposition which the Emperor met from the Elector of Saxony, though naturally at the head of the Protestant religion, and of German freedom, was merely a form. If John George afterwards opposed him, Ferdinand was the aggressor, by banishing the Protestant preachers out of Bohemia. But the rewarding of Bavaria with the Palatinate was no longer a matter of surprise, when it was known, that for a consideration of six millions of dollars, the Emperor ceded Lusatia to the Elector of Saxony.

Thus, in defiance of all the Protestants of Germany, in opposition to the constitution of the Empire, which by his coronation oath he had sworn to maintain, did Ferdinand solemnly invest the Duke of Bavaria, at Ratisbon, with the electorate Palatine, reserving, as was said, the legal claims which Frederic's posterity might establish. That unfortunate prince now saw himself irretrievably ruined, without being so much as heard in his

own defence before the tribunal which condemned him; a privilege which the law grants to the meanest subject, even in cases of the most atrocious nature.

This violent action at length opened the eyes of the King of England, about the time that his son's marriage with a princess of Spain was broke off; and James at length began seriously to espouse the cause of his son-in-law. A revolution in the French ministry placed Cardinal Richelieu at the head of affairs, and that deeply decayed kingdom soon felt the advantages of his administration. The efforts of the Spanish viceroy of Milan to make himself master of Veltlino, and obtain a rallying point with the hereditary states of Austria, awakened the old dread of this power, and with it the state maxims of Henry the Great. A marriage between the Prince of Wales and Henrietta of France united these powers in a closer connexion, in which they were joined by Holland, Denmark, and some of the states of Italy. The proposed design was, to recover by arms Veltlino from Spain, and compel Austria to reinstate the Elector Palatine; but only the first of those designs was prosecuted with vigour. James I. died and Charles I. engaged in a quarrel with his parliament, could no longer bestow attention on the affairs of Germany. Savoy and Venice withheld their assistance, and the French minister thought he must first subdue the Hugonots in his own country previous to his supporting the German Protestants against the Emperor. Thus ended the hopes conceived from this confederacy.

Count Mansfeld, deprived of all support, remained inactive on the Lower Rhine, and the

Duke of Brunswic, after an unfortunate campaign, was driven out of Germany. A new inroad of Bethlen Gabor into Moravia, not being supported by the Germans, terminated in a formal peace with the Emperor. The Union was dissolved, no Protestant prince was longer in arms, and the Bavarian general Tilly commanded on the borders of Lower Germany a victorious army, amid Protestant states. The movements of the Duke of Brunswic had already led him to this part of the Empire, and even into the circle of Lower Saxony, where he made himself master of that prince's magazines in Lipstadt. The necessity of watching this enemy, and preventing his further inroads, must now justify Tilly's remaining in those parts. But both Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswic had dismissed their army from want of money, and Tilly no longer saw an enemy before him. He could therefore have no pretext to burden the country.

Amid the voice of parties it is difficult to discover the truth; but it appeared a serious matter that the members of the League did not disarm themselves. The intemperate rejoicings of the Catholics increased the alarm. The Emperor and the League were victorious in Germany, and there was no power which could resist them, were they even disposed to break the treaty, and entirely crush the Protestants. If the Emperor was not even disposed to disturb the Protestants, their defenceless situation encouraged him to it. Obsolete conventions could not bind a prince who thought he owed all to his religion, and in whose eyes every design to promote it aquired a sanction. Upper Germany was already subjected, and it was

in Lower Germany alone that his progress might meet with some opposition. Here the Protestant religion predominated, the Catholics had been forcibly deprived of their chapters, and this moment appeared favourable to recover them. A great part of the strength of the Lower German princes consisted in those chapters, and the recovery of the lost domains of the church gave the Catholics an excellent pretext to weaken the former.

It would have been an unpardonable negligence to have remained inactive at such a period. The remembrance of the ravages which Tilly's soldiers committed in Lower Germany was too recent not to excite the states of that country to their self-defence. With all possible haste the circle of Lower Saxony betook itself to arms; extraordinary contributions were raised, troops collected, and magazines formed. Negotiations for subsidies were entered into with Holland, Venice, and England. It was deliberated which power should be placed at the head of this confederacy. The masters of the Sound, and of the Baltic, could not with indifference behold the Emperor approach them as a conqueror, and establish himself on the borders of the North Sea. The double interests of religion and state required them to be attentive to his motions in Lower Germany. Christian IV. King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, esteemed himself a member of the states of this circle. By equally powerful considerations Gustavus Adolphus was induced to join this confederacy.

But those kings vied with each other for the honour of defending Lower Germany. Both determined to raise formidable armies, and lead them in person against the alarming power of Austria.

The promises of the latter king aquired additional strength from victorious campaigns against Muscovy and Poland. But his renown excited envy in the bosom of the Danish monarch; and the more laurels he could now promise himself, the more he was exposed to the envy of his competitor. They laid their plans before the English ministry, where Christian at length succeeded in obtaining the preference to Gustavus. The latter required as a security the possession of some fortifications in Germany, where he had himself no territory, in order to secure a retreat in case of need. Christian IV. had Holstein and Jutland through which, if vanquished, he might effect his retreat.

Eager to exceed his competitor in activity, the King of Denmark hastened to take the field. Appointed generalissimo of the circle of Lower Saxony, he soon assembled an army of 60,000 men; and was joined by the Administrator of Magdeburg, and the Dukes of Brunswic and Mecklenburg. Encouraged by the hopes of assistance from England, and with such great preparations, he flattered himself with the hope of terminating the war in one campaign. Information was sent to Vienna that this armament was destined only to defend the circle and maintain the peace. But the negotiations with Holland and England, and even with France, appeared to embrace more than defensive operations, and seemed to aim at a total re-establishment of the Elector Palatine, and the humiliation of Austrian greatness.

After the Emperor had in vain had recourse to negotiations, exhortations, threats, and orders, to induce the King of Denmark and the circle of

Lower Saxony to lay down their arms, hostilities commenced, and Lower Germany was the theatre of operations. Tilly marched along the left bank of the Weser, and made himself master of all the passes as far as Minden. After a fruitless attack upon Nienburg, and his passage of the river, he overran the principality of Calenburg, in which he quartered his troops. The King acted on the opposite side of the river, and spread his forces over the Dutchy of Brunswic; but having weakened his army by too powerful detachments, he could not engage in any important undertaking with the remainder. Acquainted with the enemy's superiority, he avoided a battle with as much care as his adversary sought one.

The Emperor had hitherto made use only of the arms of Bavaria and the League in Germany, if the Spanish Walloon reinforcements are excepted, which fell into the Lower Palatinate. The Duke of Bavaria carried on the war, as commander in chief of the army of execution; and Tilly, who was at the head of that army, was in his service. He was indebted to the arms of Bavaria and the League for his successes, and on them depended his consequence, which but ill agreed with the great schemes which so brilliant a commencement of the war induced the Court of Vienna to form.

Notwithstanding the efforts which the League had made in the Emperor's defence, it was by no means likely that they would carry their complaisance so far as to support him in his plan of making conquests: or even if they lent their armies for such a purpose, it was more than probable they would soon create a jealousy in the Emperor, who would endeavour to convert all their conquests

to his own advantage. A formidable army under his own immediate orders would alone free him from his dependance upon Bavaria, and secure him the superiority which he had obtained in Germany. But the Austrian territories were too much exhausted by the war to sustain the enormous expenses of such an armament. Under such circumstances, nothing could be more agreeable to the Emperor than a proposal which one of his officers unexpectedly made him.

This was Count Wallenstein, an experienced soldier, and the richest nobleman in Bohemia. From his earliest youth he had devoted himself to the service of Austria, and had gained considerable reputation in several campaigns against the Turks, Venetians, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Transilvanians. At the battle of Prague he was colonel; and afterwards, as major general, defeated a Hungarian army in Moravia. The Emperor's gratitude equalled these services, and a considerable portion of the confiscated estates in Bohemia was bestowed on him. Possessed of an immense property, and excited by ambition, full of reliance upon his fortunate stars, and still more encouraged by the existing circumstances, he offered the Emperor, at his friend's expense and his own, to raise, clothe, and fully accoutre, an army. He went so far even as to undertake the payment of it, provided he was allowed to augment it to 50,000 men. This project was ridiculed by all as chimerical, but yet it was an important matter to fulfil its promises even in part. A few circles in Bohemia were appointed to serve as depots, and he was allowed the promotion of his officers. In a short time he collected an army 20,000 strong,

with which he left the Austrian borders; and soon after he appeared at the head of 30,000 men in Lower Saxony. The Emperor had lent this armament nothing but his name. The reputation of the general, the hope of promotion and of booty, collected adventurers from all parts of Germany; and even sovereign princes, excited by a thirst for glory, or a desire of gain, now offered to raise regiments for the Austrian service.

An Imperial army now appeared, for the first time, in Germany; an event peculiarly dreadful to the Protestants, and not much more acceptable to the Catholics. Wallenstein had orders to join the army of the League, and in conjunction with the Bavarian general, to attack the King of Denmark. But, long jealous of Tilly's reputation, he showed no disposition to share with him the laurels of the campaign, and to lose his own fame in the lustre of that of his competitor for glory. His plan of operations confounded that of the latter, but he nevertheless persevered in it. As he wanted the resources from which Tilly supplied his army, he was under the necessity of leading his troops into fertile countries which had not suffered by the war. Without obeying his orders to form a junction with the troops of the League, he entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and at Dessau made himself master of the Elbe. The countries on both sides of this river lay open to his contributions; he was by these means enabled to fall on the King of Denmark's rear, and even, if necessary, could open a passage into that prince's territories.

Christian IV. felt the whole force of his danger between two such numerous armies. He had lately

been joined by the Administrator of Halberstadt, who was returned from Holland; and he now openly declared for Count Mansfeld, whom he had hitherto discarded, and supported him according to his ability. Mansfeld amply repaid this service. He alone kept Wallenstein's army on the Elbe at bay, and prevented its junction with that of Tilly. Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority, this intrepid general approached the bridge of Dessau, and ventured to entrench himself before the Imperial lines on the opposite side. But having been surrounded by the enemy, he was obliged to yield to superior numbers, and constrained to abandon his post, with the loss of 3000 men killed. After this defeat Mansfeld withdrew into Brandenburg, whence, after having somewhat refreshed and reinforced his troops, he suddenly turned towards Silesia, in order from thence to march into Hungary, and, in conjunction with Bethlen Gabor, to carry the war into the heart of the Austrian states. As the Austrian dominions in this quarter were exposed to an enemy, Wallenstein received immediate orders to lose sight of the King of Denmark, and, if possible, to interrupt Mansfeld's progress through Silesia.

The diversion which Mansfeld made in Wallenstein's army enabled the King to detach a part of his force into Westphalia, in order to take possession of the bishoprics of Münster and Osnabrück. To prevent this, Tilly suddenly left the Weser; but the movements of the Duke of Brunswick, who appeared desirous of entering the territories of the League, and removing the seat of war thither, recalled him in all haste from Westphalia. In order to avoid being cut off from this

province, and to prevent a dangerous junction between the Landgravé of Hesse and the enemy, Tilly immediately seized all the tenable posts on the Fulda and Werra, and secured himself in Minden, at the entrance of the Hessian mountains, on the conflux of both those rivers. He soon after took Göttingen, the key of Brunswic and Hesse, and was preparing to make himself master of Nordheim, when the King advanced against him with his whole army. After the latter had furnished this place with all the necessaries for sustaining a long siege, he endeavoured to open himself a passage into the territories of the League, through Eichsfeld and Thuringia. He had already gained Duderstadt, when by a rapid march Tilly overtook him. As the latter had been reinforced by some of Wallenstein's regiments, and was superior in numbers, the King turned towards Brunswic to avoid the battle. But Tilly incessantly harassed his rear, and after three days skirmishing he was at length obliged to await the enemy at the village of Lutter on Barenberg. The Danes commenced the attack with great impetuosity, and their intrepid King led them three times against the enemy; but at length the weaker must yield to the stronger, and to the superior discipline of the Imperialists, and a complete victory was obtained by the general of the League. The Danes lost sixteen colours, with all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Several officers of distinction, together with 4000 men, were killed on the field of battle: thirty companies of foot, who, during the flight, had thrown themselves into the town-house of Lutter, laid down their arms, and surrendered to the conqueror.

The King fled with his cavalry, and soon after collected the shattered remains of his army. Tilly pursued his victory, made himself master of the Weser, and of the territories of Brunswick, and drove the King to Bremen. Rendered more cautious by defeat, the latter was now determined to act defensively, and particularly to guard the passage of the Elbe against the enemy; but while he garrisoned every tenable place, his divided force became inactive, and his scattered corps were one after the other either destroyed or dispersed. The troops of the League, masters of the Weser, spread themselves along the Elbe and the Havel, and every where drove the Danes before them. Tilly himself had already penetrated far into the territories of Brandenburg with his victorious arms, while Wallenstein, on the other hand, entered Holstein, to remove the seat of war to the King's own territories.

This general was returned from Hungary, whither he had followed Mansfeld without being able to impede his march, or prevent his junction with Bethlen Gabor. Always persecuted by fortune only to rise superior to it, that general, after endless difficulties, fought his way through Silesia and Hungary to the Prince of Transilvania, to whom, however, he was not a welcome guest. Relying upon the assistance of England, and a powerful diversion in Lower Saxony, Gabor had anew broken the truce with the Emperor; and instead of the expected diversion, Mansfeld now drew upon him all Wallenstein's army, and required from him the pecuniary aid which he himself wanted from others. The little harmony that reigned among the Protestant princes abated Gabor's

zeal, and he hastened, as usual, to avert the superior force of the Emperor by a speedy peace; determined, however, to break it on the first ray of hope, he directed Mansfeld to apply for assistance to the republic of Venice.

Cut off from Germany, and wholly unable to subsist the weak remains of his troops in Hungary, Mansfeld sold his artillery, etc. and diminished his soldiers; he himself passed with a small train of attendants through Bosnia and Dalmatia towards Venice. But his career was ended; fate, which so sported with him during life, prepared for him in Dalmatia a grave: death overtook him near Zara * (1626). A short time before died the faithful companion of his fortunes, Christian Duke of Brunswic; two men with fair claims to immortality, they elevated themselves superior to their age and their destiny.

The King of Denmark, with a complete army,

* This extraordinary man, who might be numbered among Plutarch's heroes, was the natural son of an Austrian general, and had been legitimated by the Emperor Rodolph. He served his first campaigns in Hungary, under the Archduke Charles; he afterwards entered the Spanish, and then the service of Savoy, and died in that of the Elector Palatine. He was often beat, but never conquered, and appeared after his defeats more formidable than before; he was inconstant, and loved troublesome times, and bore the greatest hardships with indifference; he was an expert negotiator, and a persuasive orator; always poor, his sword being his only patrimony; he every where sought war, and was every where the terror of his enemies.

Perceiving the approach of death, he threw on his uniform, girded his sword, and was held upright, standing by two of his officers. In this posture he expired; a trait seemingly misplaced in the situation of a dying man, but characteristic of a great soul. He died in his forty-sixth year, and was buried in Spalatro. *Trans.*

had been unable to resist Tilly alone: alone it could not therefore be expected that, with a shattered force, he should now be able to oppose the two Imperial generals united. The Danes retired from all their posts upon the Weser, Elbe, and Havel; and Wallenstein's army overspread Brandenburg, Holstein, and Sleswig. This general, too proud to act in conjunction with another, had detached Tilly over the Elbe, to watch the motions of the Dutch; but in reality this was a pretext to have the merit of terminating the Danish war, and to reap the harvest of Tilly's laurels. Christian lost all his German fortresses except Glückstadt, his army was beaten and dispersed, he received no aid from Germany, and but little consolation from England, and his allies in Lower Saxony were abandoned to the enemy's fury. Tilly had, immediately after the victory at Lutter, compelled the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel to renounce the Danish alliance; Wallenstein's formidable appearance before Berlin compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to acknowledge Maximilian of Bavaria as a lawful elector. The greater part of Mecklenburg was now over-run by the Imperial troops; both its Dukes*, as allies of the Danish king, were put to the ban of the Empire, and expelled from their territories. Thus was the defence of the German liberty against unjust attacks, punished as a crime, with the loss of dignity and property; yet even this was only a prelude to the more tyrannical proceedings which followed.

The secret now came to light in what manner Wallenstein was to fulfil his extravagant promises;

* Schwerin and Strelitz. *Trans.*

he had learned it from Mansfeld, but the scholar surpassed his master. Having established it as a maxim that one war must be supported by another, Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswic subsisted their troops by the contributions which they indiscriminately raised among friends and enemies; but this thievish life was attended with all the uncertainty and inconvenience which accompany robbery. Obligated, in quest of prey, to roam from one end of Germany to the other, their motions were narrowly watched, and they were sometimes obliged to abandon the richest countries upon the appearance of a superior enemy. But if Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswic had done such great things while they had so many obstacles to surmount, how much more might now be performed when these obstacles were all removed; when the army raised was sufficient to overawe the most powerful states in the Empire; when the Emperor's name insured impunity to every act of violence; in short, when the first authority of the Empire, supported by a formidable army, had determined to pursue the same system of warfare which two adventurers, at the head of an irregular multitude, had practised in their own defence.

Wallenstein had this plan in view when he laid before the Emperor his bold project, which was no longer found surprising to mankind. The more the army was increased, the easier it was subsisted, because its superiority crushed every opposition; the more violent the actions, the more they assured impunity to the perpetrators; there was some colour of justice in oppressing such states as were refractory; the oppression of those who had maintained their allegiance was justified upon

the grounds of necessity. This unequal treatment of the states prevented a dangerous union between them; the exhausted situation of their territories restrained them from exertions. All Germany, after this manner, became a magazine to the Imperial army, and the Emperor was equally absolute in the territories of the Empire, as in his own hereditary dominions; the clamour for justice was incessant before the Imperial throne, but such as had recourse to it were secured against the indignation of the oppressed princes. The cry of discontent was levelled against the Emperor, who lent his name to those violences, and against his general, who exceeded his power and openly accused the authority of his master. Recourse was had to the Emperor for protection against his general; but Wallenstein no sooner saw himself absolute in his army, than he threw off his allegiance to his sovereign.

The exhausted situation of the enemy gave room to hope for a speedy peace; nevertheless Wallenstein continued to augment the Imperial armies, until at length he had rendered them a hundred thousand strong. Colonels and inferior officers, commissions innumerable, a regal pomp, immoderate largesses to his favourites (for he never gave less than a thousand florins), immense sums employed in corrupting the Court of Vienna, in order to maintain his authority; all this was done without burdening the Emperor. These enormous supplies were drawn from the provinces of Lower Germany, where no distinction was made between friend and enemy, and where all was treated as a conquered country. If credit may be given to a loose calculation made at that period,

Wallenstein, during the seven years of his command, raised no less than sixty thousand millions of dollars from one half of Germany. The greater were his contributions, the more his army increased and his supplies were augmented; his standards were resorted to from every quarter, for all mankind are attracted by good fortune; his army increased prodigiously, while every country through which it passed felt its ravages. In such circumstances, the detestation of the people and the complaints of the princes were of little consequence while he was supported by so great a force; guilt itself put him in a condition to defy any bad consequences which might arise from it.

In justice to the Emperor, he must not be regarded as the author of the irregularities committed by his troops. Had Ferdinand known that he abandoned the German states to the rapacity of his general, he must also have been sensible of the danger to which his own authority was exposed from such a commander's uncontrolled power; the close union between the general and his army must have relaxed the good understanding between the Emperor and both. It is true, every transaction was sanctioned by the Imperial name, but Wallenstein used that of the chief of the Empire, only the easier to oppress the other German states; hence arose this man's maxim, to depress the princes of the Empire, to destroy all gradations of rank between the latter and the Emperor, whose power he secured, and resolved to elevate beyond all competition. Were the Emperor the only dispenser of law in Germany, what would then control the man to whom he entrusted the execution of his orders? The height to which Wallenstein

raised the Emperor's power, astonished even the latter; but as the greatness of the master was entirely the work of the servant, it returned to its former insignificance so soon as it wanted the support of its founder. He artfully inflamed the minds of the princes of the Empire against the Emperor, because, the greater their hatred was, the more indispensable did the services of a man become who alone could protect him against their indignation. His design insensibly appeared to be, that the Emperor should be wholly independent of every person in Germany except of him, to whom he owed that independence.

One step towards this was, that Wallenstein demanded possession of Mecklenburg as a pledge for the payment of the money which he had advanced the Emperor in the preceding campaign. The Emperor had already begun to elevate his own above the Bavarian general, and raised the former to the dignity of Duke of Friedland; but an ordinary recompence could not satisfy Wallenstein's ambition. In vain did his new claim meet with opposition in the Imperial council, because it must be granted at the expense of two princes of the Empire; in vain did the Spaniards, long offended at his haughty demeanour, oppose his elevation; the powerful interest which Wallenstein possessed by corruption among the Imperial privy counselors prevailed. Ferdinand was determined to attach to himself, at all hazards, a man whose services he could not dispense with; the heirs of one of the most ancient houses in Germany were expelled their inheritance, in order to enrich a creature of the Emperor with their spoils. (1628.)

Wallenstein soon after began to assume the

title of Imperial generalissimo, by land and sea. The town of Wismar was taken, to obtain a firmer footing on the Baltic; ships were required from Poland and the Hanseatic towns, in order to carry on the war on that sea, to pursue the Danes into the interior of their country, and compel them to a peace, which was to serve as a prelude to still greater conquests. The alliance between the northern German states and the kingdoms of the North would be dissolved, if the Emperor could place himself between both, and surround Germany, from the Adriatic sea to the Sound (for Poland was already dependent on him), with an extensive chain of territories. If such was the Emperor's plan, it was no less Wallenstein's interest to pursue it. Possessions on the Baltic were intended as the foundation of a power, the establishment of which had long been the object of his ambition, and which might make him independent of his sovereign.

To obtain this end, it was of the utmost importance to get possession of the town of Stralsund, on the Baltic; its excellent harbour, and the short passage from thence to the coasts of Sweden and Denmark, rendered it peculiarly fitted for a place of arms to wage war against both those kingdoms. This town, the sixth in the Hanseatic League, enjoyed, under the protection of the Duke of Pomerania, the most important privileges; and had not hitherto borne the least share in the war; yet neither its neutrality nor its privileges could secure it against the usurpations of Wallenstein, whose designs were directed towards it.

The proposal of receiving an Imperial garrison,

which this general made to the magistrates of Stralsund, was rejected by them with firmness; a deceitful request of marching his troops through the town, met with no better success. He now, therefore, determined to besiege it.

It was of the utmost consequence to both the northern kings to maintain the independence of Stralsund, without which the navigation of the Baltic could not be preserved. Their common danger at length overcame the private jealousies which had long subsisted between both kings: at a convention held in Copenhagen in 1628, they mutually engaged to defend Stralsund with their united strength, and to resist every power which should enter the Baltic with hostile intentions. Christian IV. immediately upon this, threw a sufficient garrison into Stralsund, and encouraged its inhabitants by his personal appearance among them; some ships of war which Sigismund King of Poland had sent the Imperial general, were sunk by the Danish fleet; and as Lubeck refused him aid, Wallenstein had not ships sufficient to blockade even the harbour of this one town.

Nothing appeared more absurd than to attempt the conquest of a sea-port, strongly fortified, without first blockading its harbour. Wallenstein, who had hitherto experienced no resistance, would willingly overcome nature and perform impossibilities. Stralsund, open towards the sea, still continued to supply itself with provisions, and reinforce its garrison; nevertheless Wallenstein surrounded it on the land side, and endeavoured by boasting threats to supply the want of real strength. *"I will take this town,"* said he, *"though it were fastened by a chain to the heavens."* The Emperor,

who might have repented an undertaking of which he promised himself no favourable issue, received with eagerness the apparent submission and acceptable offers of the inhabitants of Stralsund, and gave orders to his generals to raise the siege; Wallenstein despised this order, and made repeated attacks upon the garrison. As the fatigue was become too great for the remainder of the Danish troops, already considerably diminished, and the King found it inconvenient to reinforce them, Stralsund, with Christian's consent, applied to the King of Sweden; the Danish commander evacuated the town, in order to make way for a Swedish garrison, who defended it with the most fortunate success. Wallenstein's good fortune failed him before this town; and, for the first time, he had the sensible mortification of being, after several months efforts, obliged to abandon his enterprise, with the loss of twelve thousand men killed. The necessity under which he put this town to apply for Swedish assistance, brought on a close alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and Stralsund, which afterwards not a little facilitated the entrance of the Swedes into Germany.

Hitherto fortune had accompanied the arms of the League and the Emperor, and Christian IV. vanquished in Germany, saw himself obliged to take refuge in his islands; but the Baltic stopped the progress of the conquerors. Their want of ships prevented them from pursuing the King, and even put them in danger of losing their conquests. The union of the two northern kings was peculiarly to be feared, because, if they acted with firmness, they made it impossible for the Emperor and his generals to obtain a footing on the Baltic,

or effect a landing in Sweden. Were it, however, possible to divide the interests of both kings, and in particular to secure the alliance of the Danish monarch, it would be more practicable to overcome the single power of Sweden. The dread of foreign influence, violent commotions among his own Protestant subjects, the great expenses of the war, and, still more, the storm which threatened the Protestant part of Germany, at length disposed the Emperor to a peace, which his general, from very opposite motives, laboured to effect: far from desiring a peace, which from the meridian of his greatness would reduce him to the obscurity of a private man, he only wished to change the theatre of war, and thus to prolong the troubles. The friendship of Denmark, whose neighbour he was become as Duke of Mecklenburg, was of the utmost consequence for the accomplishment of his extensive projects, and he determined, even by sacrificing his master's interests, to obtain the alliance of that court.

Christian IV. had expressly engaged, in the treaty of Copenhagen, to conclude no separate peace with the Emperor without Sweden's consent; notwithstanding Wallenstein's offer was gladly received by him. At a congress held at Lübeck in 1629, from which Wallenstein dismissed the Swedish ambassadors, who came to intercede for the Dukes of Mecklenburg, with studied contempt, all the conquests taken from the Danes were restored to them. This necessary peace was purchased by Christian only at the expense of his honour; he was forbid to interfere in future in the transactions of Germany; as he was entitled to do from his quality of Duke of Holstein, and compelled to re-

nounce all claim to the regulation of the Lower German chapters, and abandon the Dukes of Necklenburg to their fate. Christian himself had involved these princes in a war with the Emperor; he now sacrificed them to gain the favour of the usurper of their states. Among the motives which excited him to a war with the Emperor, the reinstatement of the Elector Palatine, his relation, was not the least; yet was this prince not so much as once mentioned in the treaty of Lübeck, and one of its articles even recognised the Bavarian right of election. With such little reputation did Christian IV. leave the scene of action.

Ferdinand had now, for the second time, the tranquillity of Germany in his own power, and it depended only upon him to change the treaty with Denmark into a general peace. From all quarters he was assailed by the cries of the unfortunate, who bewailed their afflictions; the cruelty of his soldiers, the rapacity of his generals, had exceeded all bounds. Germany, laid waste by the savages of Mansfeld's and the Duke of Brunswick's armies, and the more destructive bands of Tilly and Wallenstein, lay bleeding, exhausted, desolate, and sighed for tranquillity; the states of the Empire ardently desired peace, the Emperor himself earnestly wished for it, being engaged in a war in Upper Italy with France, exhausted by that which he had hitherto waged in Germany, and apprehensive of the payment of expenses which was expected from him. But unfortunately, the conditions upon which both religious parties sheathed the sword, contradicted each other; the Catholics were desirous to terminate this war to their own advantage, the

Protestants had equal pretensions: the Emperor, instead of uniting both by a prudent moderation, declared himself for one party; and thus did Germany anew precipitate itself into the horrors of a destructive war.

Since the termination of the Bohemia troubles, Ferdinand had commenced the counter-reformation in his hereditary dominions, which, however, from regard towards some Protestant states, was conducted with moderation; but the victories obtained by his general in Lower Saxony encouraged him to lay aside all reserve. It was now intimated to the Protestants in his hereditary dominions, that they must either abandon their religion or their native country; a bitter and dreadful alternative, which caused the most violent commotions among the vassals of Austria. After the expulsion of Frederic, the reformed religion was suppressed in the Palatinate, and its professors expelled the university of Heidelberg.

These innovations were a prelude to one still greater; in the college of Electors, held at Mühlhausen, the Catholics had required from the Emperor the restitution of all the bishoprics and archbishoprics, abbacies and priories, which the Protestants had taken possession of since the treaty of Augsburg, in order to indemnify the former for the losses they had sustained since the commencement of the war. Such a hint could not be overlooked by so zealous a Catholic prince as Ferdinand, but it was as yet deemed too soon to raise all the Protestants in Germany in commotion by such a step; there was no Protestant prince whose territories were not concerned in this restitution of the Catholic chapters; where

the revenues of the latter were not converted to temporal purposes, they were applied to the use of the Protestant church, and several princes owed to them the greater part of their revenues and power. All of them, without exception, must be alarmed at the recalling of the chapters. Though the religious treaty had left the matter doubtful, it had not expressly deprived them of those chapters; but the long possession of more than a century, the silence of former Emperors, the rules of moderation, which gave them an equal share with the Catholics in the endowments of their ancestors, would be adduced by them as a rational claim. Besides the immediate blow which the restoration of those chapters gave their power and authority, and the unforeseen confusion which would follow, it was of no small disadvantage to them that such bishoprics, restored to the Catholic party, would augment it by so many votes in the diet. So sensible a loss on the part of the Protestants gave the Emperor to apprehend the most violent resistance; and before the flames of war were extinguished in Germany, he did not desire to rouse a party, formidable by its union, which had a powerful support in the Elector of Saxony. He at first resolved to try the experiment upon a small scale, to discover in what manner it would succeed on a greater. Some free cities in Upper Germany, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, received orders to restore several such alienated chapters.

Circumstances in Saxony enabled the Emperor to make bolder experiments. In the bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt the canons had not thought proper to elect bishops of their own re-

ligion; both bishoprics were now overrun by Wallenstein's troops, except the town of Magdeburg. It happened by accident that Halberstadt was vacant by the death of Duke Christian of Brunswic, its administrator, and Magdeburg by the deposition of Christian William, a prince of the House of Brandenburg: Ferdinand took advantage of this circumstance to place a Catholic bishop on the see of Halberstadt, and, besides, a prince of his own house. To avoid similar coercion, the chapter of Magdeburg hastened to elect a son of the Elector of Saxony for their archbishop; but the Pope, who assumed the authority of interfering in this matter, appointed the Austrian prince to the archbishopric of Magdeburg also; and men could not but admire the address of Ferdinand, who amid the most pious zeal for his religion did not forget the interests of his family.

At length, after the peace of Lübeck had delivered the Empire from all apprehensions on the side of Denmark, and had appeared totally to lower the Protestant interest in Germany, the demands of the League becoming louder and more pressing, Ferdinand, in 1629, signed the edict of restitution, so famous for its disastrous consequences, after he had previously laid it before the four Catholic Electors for their approbation. In the preface he assumed to himself the power, by virtue of his Imperial authority, of expounding all those articles of the religious treaty whose obscurity had already caused so many errors, and of becoming supreme arbitrator and judge between the contending parties. This prerogative was grounded upon the practice of his ancestors, and the former consent even of the

Protestant states; Saxony had actually yielded it to the Emperor; but it now appeared how destructive the attachment of that House to Austria was to the Protestant cause. But if the letter of the treaty was exposed to double interpretation, as was sufficiently apparent from the dispute of a century, the Emperor could not with propriety be umpire between the Catholic and Protestant states; for being necessarily himself either a Catholic or a Protestant, he must favour one of the parties. It was also contrary to an essential article of the treaty; he could not be judge in his own cause without reducing the freedom of the Germans to an empty sound.

Ferdinand, now using his authority to interpret the treaty, gave the following decision: "That every confiscation of chapters made by the Protestants after the signature of it, was contrary to its spirit, and should be recalled as a breach of it." He further decided, "that Catholic proprietors of estates were no further bound to their Protestant subjects, than to grant them the liberty of departure." According to this decision, all unlawful possessors of ecclesiastical chapters, consequently all the Protestants without exception, were ordered forthwith to surrender what were called their usurped possessions to the Imperial commissaries, under pain of being put to the bann of the Empire.

No less than two archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics stood on this list; besides, there were abbacies innumerable which had been seized by the Protestants. This edict was a thunder-stroke to all the Protestants in Germany; dreadful by its immediate consequences, and still more

so from the more distant ones to which it appeared only a prelude. The German Protestants now plainly saw their ruin determined on by the Emperor and the Catholics, and doubted not that the ruin of German liberty would soon follow. A remonstrance was foreseen on the part of the Emperor. Commissioners were nominated, and an army assembled to enforce obedience. The edict was first enforced at Augsburg, where the treaty was concluded; that city must return to its obedience, under a bishop; and six Protestant churches were shut up in it. In the same manner the Duke of Wirtemberg must surrender his abbies. This severity alarmed all the Protestant states, but without exciting them to an effective resistance; their fear of the Emperor was too powerful, and a great number of them began already to submit. The hopes of obtaining their desires in a peaceful manner prevailed upon the Catholics to delay the full execution of the edict for a year; and this saved the Protestants. Before the end of that period the fortune of the Swedish arms changed the face of affairs.

In an assembly of Electors held at Ratisbon in 1630, at which Ferdinand assisted in person, it was intended to re-establish the general peace of Germany, and to redress all grievances. There were not fewer on the side of the Catholics than on that of the Protestants; however, Ferdinand had persuaded himself, as member of the League by the edict of restitution, and as its leader by the gift of the electoral dignity, and the evacuation of the greater part of the Palatinate, that he had obtained the attachment of the Catholics.

Since Wallenstein's appearance on the political

theatre, the good understanding between the Emperor and the princes of the League had considerably diminished. Accustomed to give law to Germany, and even to command the Empire, the proud Elector of Bavaria now saw himself suddenly supplanted by the Imperial general, and his power, with that of the League, totally annihilated. Another now arose to reap the fruit of his labours, and to bury his past services in oblivion. The haughty character of Wallenstein, whose most agreeable triumph consisted in treating with disrespect that prince's authority, and even to give that of his sovereign an odious latitude, not a little contributed to augment the Elector's sensibility. Discontented with the Emperor, and distrustful of his intentions, he had entered into a treaty with France, which served to render him suspected by the other princes of the League. The fear of the Emperor's plan of self aggrandizement, and dissatisfaction at present evils, had extinguished all gratitude among them. Wallenstein's exactions were now become intolerable. Brandenburg calculated its losses at twenty, Pomerania at ten, Hesse Cassel at seven millions of dollars, and the rest in proportion. The demand for redress was loud and universal, but remonstrances were useless. No difference was made between Catholics and Protestants, and all were united in this particular. The Emperor received innumerable petitions against Wallenstein, and his ears were assailed by the most lively descriptions of his violence. Ferdinand was not naturally cruel; if not totally innocent of the atrocities which were practised in Germany by his authority, he was unacquainted with their

extent, and he did not hesitate at the request of the princes to disband eighteen thousand cavalry from his army. It was while this reform took place that the Swedes were preparing to enter Germany, and the greater part of the disbanded Imperial soldiers entered that service.

This condescension of Ferdinand only encouraged the Elector of Bavaria to bolder demands. The triumph over the Emperor was imperfect, while Wallenstein was commander in chief. The princes must now take revenge of the haughtiness of the general, which they had all felt without distinction. The dismissal of this man was demanded by the whole College of Electors, and even by Spain, with an unanimity which astonished the Emperor: but the eagerness with which those who were jealous of the Emperor sought Wallenstein's ruin, must have convinced the former of the importance of his general. Wallenstein, informed of the cabals against him in Ratisbon, did not neglect to expose to the Emperor the designs of the Elector of Bavaria: he himself appeared in Ratisbon, but with a pomp which exceeded that of his master, and increased the jealousy of his opponent.

The Emperor long wavered before he came to a decision: The sacrifice required of him was painful; he was indebted to Wallenstein for his entire superiority; he felt how much he lost when he delivered him up to the indignation of the princes. But, unfortunately, he wanted the good will of the Electors, now become necessary to the appointing his son Ferdinand, already elected King of Hungary, as his heir in the Empire, to which the consent of Maximilian was indispensa-

ble. This duty he thought the most important, and he scrupled not to sacrifice his most valuable subject to gain the Elector of Bavaria.

Ambassadors from France appeared at this diet of Electors at Ratisbon, with power to prevent a war, which threatened to break out in Italy, between the Emperor and their master. Vincent Duke of Mantua and Montferrat had died without children; his next relation, Charles Duke of Nevers, had taken possession of this inheritance without doing homage to Ferdinand, as liege lord and Emperor. Encouraged by the support of France and Venice, he persisted in his refusal of yielding up those countries to the Imperial commissaries, until his right should be decided. Ferdinand, inflamed by the Spaniards, to whom, as proprietors of Milan, the neighbourhood of a French vassal was highly alarming, and to whom every opportunity was pleasing of making conquests, by the assistance of Austria, in this part of Italy, took up arms. Notwithstanding the interposition of Pope Urban VIII. who anxiously wished to prevent a war in that country, he marched an army of Germans across the Alps, whose unexpected appearance threw the Italian states into consternation. His arms were already successful in Germany, and exaggerated fears saw Austria's old claims to universal monarchy renewed. All the horrors of war were now spread over the consecrated fields through which the Po flows. Mantua was taken by storm, and the surrounding country felt the ravages of an unlicensed soldiery. To the detestation in which the Emperor was held by all Germany, that of Italy was now added, and even in the conclave itself

silent prayers were offered to Heaven for the success of the Swedish arms.

Alarmed by the universal hatred which the Italian campaign drew upon them, and weary of the opposition he had met with from the Electors, who zealously promoted the designs of the French minister, the Emperor listened to the proposals of France, and promised the new Duke the Investiture.

This important service on the part of Bavaria required an equivalent from France. The conclusion of the treaty afforded Richelieu's minister the desired opportunity of troubling the Empire, during his residence at Ratisbon, with the most dangerous intrigues, of inflaming the discontented princes of the League still more against him, and turning all the negotiations of the College of Electors to his disadvantage. For this purpose Richelieu had chosen, in the person of Father Joseph, the Capucin friar who accompanied the ambassador unsuspected, an excellent instrument. His first instructions were zealously to promote the dismissal of Wallenstein. With the general who led them to victory, Austria's armies lost a great part of their strength. Armies could not supply the place of this one man: it was therefore a masterstroke of politics, at the moment when a victorious king, absolute master of his operations, advanced against the Emperor, to take the only general who could be compared to him in experience and reputation from the head of the Imperial forces. Father Joseph undertook to overcome the Emperor's irresolution, who was in a manner besieged by the Spaniards and the Electors. "It would be expedient," he thought,

"to gratify the Electors upon this occasion, in order the sooner to obtain the dignity of King of the Romans. Were this difficulty once surmounted, Wallenstein could at any time be found to resume his former station." The artful Capucin was too sure of his man to make any addition to this consolation.

Ferdinand heard the voice of a monk as he would that of Heaven. „*Nothing on earth*“ writes his own confessor, „*was more sacred in his eyes than the priesthood.*“—„*Did it happen, was he oft heard to say, that an angel from heaven and a clergyman were to meet him at the same time and place, the clergyman should receive his first, and the angel the second act of his obeisance.*“ Wallenstein's dismissal was determined upon.

In return for this pious condescension, the Capucin negotiated at Ratisbon with such dexterity against him, that his design of procuring the King of Hungary the title of that of the Romans entirely failed. In an article of the late treaty, the French minister had declared expressly, in the name of his master, that France would maintain the most perfect neutrality towards the Emperor's enemies, at the very time that Richelieu was secretly negotiating with Sweden, encouraging him to undertake a war, and pressing him to accept the alliance of his master. He even disclaimed this falsehood so soon as it had the desired effect; and Father Joseph was confined to a convent for having exceeded his instructions. Ferdinand, too late, was aware of his deceit: „*A wicked Capucin,*“ he was heard to say, has „*disarmed me by his rosary, and enclosed no less than six Electors in his cowl.*“

Thus did art and knavery triumph over the Emperor at the period when he was thought master of Germany, and actually was such by his arms. With the loss of 18,000 men, and a general who alone was worth an army, he left Ratisbon, without having accomplished the desire for which he made all these sacrifices. Before the Swedes had vanquished him in the field, Maximilian of Bavaria and Father Joseph had inflicted a mortal wound. It was at this memorable diet that the war commenced with Sweden, while that of Mantua was terminated. The princes on this occasion interfered in vain on behalf of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and with as little effect did an English envoy beg for a pension for the unfortunate Elector Palatine.

Wallenstein commanded an army of near one hundred thousand men, by whom he was adored, when the news of his dismissal was communicated to him. The greater part of the officers were his creatures, and a hint from him decided the fate of the common soldiers; his ambition was boundless, his pride insupportable, and his imperious spirit could not brook an injury; one moment was now to precipitate him from the height of power to the condition of a private man. To execute a similar sentence upon such a criminal, appeared to require an act no less than that by which it had been obtained; but precautions had been taken to select two of Wallenstein's most intimate friends, as the heralds of these bad tidings, who softened them as much as possible by the assurance of the continuation of the Emperor's favour.

Wallenstein was already acquainted with the nature of their errand, when the Emperor's messengers made their appearance; he had time to collect himself, and his countenance showed calmness while his breast was torn by contending passions. But he had predetermined to yield implicit obedience. This resolution of the Emperor surprised him before circumstances were prepared for a bold step, and his preparations in a state of sufficient-forwardness. His great estates were scattered over Bohemia and Moravia: by their confiscation the Emperor would destroy the nerves of his power. From time he expected satisfaction, and in this hope he was encouraged by the prophecies of an Italian astrologer, who led this otherwise intrepid spirit like a child. Seni had read in the stars that the career of his master was not yet ended, and that the sequel had prepared for him a brilliant fortune. It was indeed unnecessary to consult the stars in order to make it probable that an enemy such as Gustavus Adolphus would make the services of such a general as Wallenstein indispensable.

"The Emperor is betrayed," said Wallenstein to the messengers: "I pity, but forgive him: it is evident that Bavaria domineers; I am sorry that he has so easily sacrificed me, but I will obey." The emissaries were dismissed with rich presents, and he besought the Emperor's further favour and protection in an humble letter. The murmurs of his army were universal upon hearing the dismissal of their general, and the greater part of his officers immediately quitted the Imperial service; several followed him to his estates in Bohemia and Moravia; others he at-

tached by pensions, in order to command their services whenever opportunity offered.

His intentions were by no means fixed on repose while he returned to a private station. In his solitude he was surrounded by a regal pomp which appeared to reproach his degradation; six gates led to his palace in Prague, and a hundred houses were demolished in order to clear the surrounding space. Similar palaces were built upon his numerous estates; gentlemen of the first families sought the honour of seeing him, and Imperial chamberlains were known to deliver up the golden key in order to exercise that duty under Wallenstein; he maintained sixty pages, who were instructed by the most able masters; his antechamber was protected by fifty life-guards; his table never consisted of less than a hundred covers, and his house-steward was a person of distinction; when he travelled, his suite and baggage were carried upon a hundred waggons, drawn by six and four horses: his court followed him in sixty coaches, attended by fifty led horses; the magnificence of his liveries, the splendour of his equipage, and the decorations of his apartments were in proportion; six barons and as many knights continually attended his person; twelve patrols went their rounds in his palace to prevent any disturbance; his busy genius required silence; the noise of coaches was not permitted near his residence, and the streets leading to it were often shut up with chains. His deportment was no less impenetrable than his access; dark, reserved, and profound, he was more sparing of his words than his gifts, and the little that he spoke was uttered in unamiable accents;

he never smiled, and the coldness of his temperature withstood all sensual gratifications. Ever occupied by the most extensive schemes of ambition, he rejected those idle dissipations in which others spend the best part of their time; a correspondence throughout Europe he managed himself, and the greater part of his letters were written by his own pen. He was a man of large stature, thin, of a yellow complexion, with red short hair, and small but penetrating eyes; his countenance displayed a forbidding seriousness, and the magnificence of his presents could alone retain the trembling crowd of his servants.

It was in this stately darkness that Wallenstein awaited, not inactively, the return of his good fortune, and the hour of his revenge; the brilliant successes of Gustavus Adolphus soon gave him reason to expect its approach. He had abandoned none of his vast plans; the Emperor's ingratitude had absolved him from a burdensome duty; the splendour of his life, as a private man, betrayed the extent of his ambition; and bountiful even as a monarch, he seemed to regard as his own, the possessions which his hopes assigned him.

A new generalissimo must be appointed after Wallenstein's dismissal, and Gustavus Adolphus's invasion; and it appeared necessary immediately to entrust the Imperial and League armies to one chief.

Maximilian of Bavaria made efforts to obtain this important dignity, which would render him master of the Emperor; but this consideration induced the latter to prefer to that station his eldest son, the King of Hungary. At length, how-

ever, to avoid giving offence to either of the competitors, the command was given to the general of the League, Tilly, who now exchanged the Bavarian for the Austrian service. The army which Ferdinand still possessed in Germany, after the retreat of Wallenstein's troops, amounted to about 40,000 men; the forces of the League were not much less numerous; both commanded by excellent officers, possessing the experience of several campaigns, and proud of a long series of victories. With this force it was thought the King of Sweden's invasion was the less alarming, as Mecklenburg and Pomerania, the only two countries through which he could enter, were already in the hands of his enemies.

After the King of Denmark's unfortunate attempt to check the Emperor's progress, Gustavus Adolphus was the only prince in Europe from whom oppressed liberty could hope for aid; the only one whom the strongest political motives excited to an undertaking, in which he was also justified by the injuries he had received, and for which he was admirably fitted by his personal qualities. From important political grounds, which he possessed in common with Denmark, he had already, previous to the commencement of the war in Lower Saxony, made an offer of his army and person to defend Germany; but unfortunately for the Danish monarch, his offer was rejected. Since that period, the superiority of Wallenstein, and the despotic pride of the Emperor, encouraged both to make demands which must have personally offended him as a sovereign prince. Austrian troops were detached to the assistance of the Polish King Sigismund, in

order to defend Prussia against the Swedes. When the king complained of this act of hostility to Wallenstein, he received for answer from the latter, "The Emperor has a superfluity of troops, and must assist his allies with them." At the Danish congress at Lübeck, Wallenstein had insulted the Swedish ambassadors; and when they had the courage to remain unawed by his treatment, he threatened them with an usage which violated the law of nations. Ferdinand also insulted the Swedish flag, and intercepted the king's dispatches conveyed to Transilvania, he persisted in throwing in obstacles to prevent the peace between Sweden and Poland, to support Sigismund's claim to the Swedish throne, and to refuse Gustavus Adolphus the title of king; he deigned not to pay the slightest attention to the repeated remonstrances of Gustavus, and, instead of atoning for past, he aggravated them by new injuries.

So many personal insults, supported by the most important state and religious considerations, and seconded by pressing invitations from Germany, must naturally make a forcible impression upon a prince who was the more jealous of his royal prerogative, in proportion as the title of king was denied him; who found himself infinitely flattered by the prospect of relieving the oppressed, and who passionately loved war as the native element of his genius. But previous to his engaging in a new and dangerous contest, it was absolutely necessary to conclude either a peace, or cessation of hostilities with Poland.

Cardinal Richelieu had the merit of procuring this truce between Sweden and Poland. That great statesman, with the helm of Europe in one

hand, while with the other he repressed the fury of interior factions, and the influence of the great in France, obstinately persevered, amid the cares of a boisterous administration, to check the growing power of the House of Austria. But the circumstances in which he was placed opposed such obstacles to his plan as were sufficient to deter the greatest minds from its prosecution, particularly as it stood in opposition to the prejudices of the age. Minister of a Catholic king, and Cardinal of the Romish church, the purple he bore did not yet permit him, in conjunction with the enemies of his religion, openly to wage war with a power whose ambition was cloaked by the specious appearance of an attachment to the Catholic faith. The respect which Richelieu was obliged to maintain for the confined ideas of his cotemporaries, checked his political undertakings, and obliged him privately to pursue the plan of his enlightened genius by means of foreign assistance. After having in vain endeavoured to prevent the peace between the Emperor and the King of Denmark, he had recourse to Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of his age. Nothing was omitted to hasten the king's resolution, and to afford him the means of executing it. Char-nasse, a faithful emissary of Richelieu, went to Polish Prussia, where Gustavus Adolphus carried on a war with Sigismund, and alternately visited both princes in order to procure a peace between them. Gustavus was long prepared for this event, and the French envoy at length succeeded in opening the eyes of Sigismund to his true interests, and the faithless politics of Austria. A truce was concluded for six years, by which

Gustavus remained in possession of his conquests, and finally obtained the opportunity so long desired; of turning his arms against the Emperor. Towards this enterprise, the French envoy offered him his master's alliance, and considerable subsidies, but Gustavus entertained apprehensions that the acceptance of the latter would place him in a state of dependance upon France, which might shackle him in the progress of his success, and also that his alliance with a Catholic power would excite the jealousy of the Protestants.

Notwithstanding both the justice and the necessity of this war, the appearances under which Gustavus Adolphus undertook it were highly unfavourable; the very name of Emperor was formidable, his resources were inexhaustible, and his armies hitherto invincible. Any other spirit but that of Gustavus would have been dismayed by so dangerous a conflict; he calmly weighed the obstacles and dangers which opposed his undertaking, and found the means to surmount them. His army, though not numerous, was well disciplined, hardened in a severe climate, and, by continual campaigns, formed for victory in the war with Poland. Sweden, deficient in money and population, and reduced by an eight years war, was devoted to its king with an enthusiasm which promised the effectual support of every order in the state. In Germany the Emperor was odious as he was formidable. The Protestant princes only awaited the arrival of a deliverer, to throw off the insupportable yoke of tyranny under which they laboured, and openly declare for the Swedes; even the Catholic powers could not behold with displeasure the arrival of

an antagonist who promised to check the overgrown power of the Emperor. The first victory gained upon the German territory must naturally decide the cause of Sweden, by bringing the princes who had hitherto stood neuter, to declare themselves, strengthen the courage of its adherents, increase the number of its troops, and open rich resources for the continuance of the war. If the greater part of the German states had hitherto been sufferers from oppression, the Hanse towns still remained in a prosperous condition, and were by no means disposed to sacrifice themselves; in proportion as the Austrians were expelled from the countries of which they had possessed themselves, their means of subsistence were diminished, ill-timed detachments of troops to Italy and the Netherlands had already weakened the Emperor's power. Spain, exhausted by the loss of its Manilla fleet, and a bloody war in the Netherlands, could promise him little support. Great Britain, on the contrary, gave Gustavus Adolphus the hope of considerable subsidies, and France, which had quelled its domestic troubles, made the most advantageous offers in support of his undertaking.

But the strongest pledge for the happy issue of his enterprise, Gustavus found in himself; prudence, however, required him to obtain all foreign aid, thereby to secure his undertaking from the imputation of rashness. But this foresight and resolution were entirely derived from his own mind. He was indisputably the greatest general of his age, and the bravest soldier in an army formed by himself; fully acquainted with the tactics of ancient Greece and Rome, he had made improve-

ments upon the art of war which have been adopted by the greatest generals after his time; he diminished the unwieldy squadrons of cavalry, in order to render the movements of that part of the army more light and active; for that purpose he formed his battalions of infantry at great intervals. His army he composed of two lines, instead of one, that the second might advance to support the first, in case the latter was thrown into disorder. The want of cavalry he supplied by placing musketeers among his horse, and this often decided the victory. Europe first learned from him the great importance of infantry in the day of battle. Germany was astonished at the strictness of the Swedish discipline; all disorders were punished with the utmost severity; more particularly impiety, theft, gaming, and duelling. The Swedish articles of war enforced frugality, and the camp, even the King's tent, displayed neither gold nor silver plate; the general's attention was as much directed to the soldier's morals as to his martial bravery; each morning and evening every regiment formed a circle round its chaplain for prayers. In every thing the King set the example. The courage of his magnanimous soul was still further augmented by an ardent piety; equally free from the coarse infidelity of the northern barbarians, and the miserable superstition of Ferdinand, which degraded him in the eyes of the Supreme Being; Gustavus remained still, in the height of his good fortune, the man and the christian, but amid all his devotion; the king and the hero. The hardships of war he bore like the meanest soldier in his army, maintained the utmost serenity of mind amid the fury of

combat, and, with an extraordinary intrepidity, forgot the surrounding danger while he exposed himself to every peril. His native vivacity but too often forgot the duty of a general, and the life of the King ended in the death of a common soldier. But such a leader was equally followed by the backward and the brave, while his rapid glance carefully observed every deed of valour which his example excited. His renown roused among the people an enthusiastic sense of their own importance: proud of such a king, the peasant of Finland and Gothland gave his pittance with pleasure, the soldier willingly shed his blood, and the extraordinary influence which this one man had upon the nation survived him during a long period.

Though no doubt was entertained of the necessity of the war, considerable difficulties arose as to the manner of waging it. An offensive war appeared too dangerous to the magnanimous Chancellor Oxenstern, as the scanty treasures of the King bore no competition with the inexhaustible resources of a despot, who held the entire German empire in subjection. The timid scruples of the minister were, however, overruled by the deeper penetration of the hero. "If we await the enemy in Sweden," said Gustavus, "all is lost by a defeat; every thing, on the contrary, is gained by a fortunate commencement in Germany. The sea is wide, and we have extensive coasts to guard; should the enemy's fleet escape us, or our own be defeated, it would in either case be impossible to prevent a landing. Every thing depends upon the preservation of Stralsund; so long as that harbour is open to

"us, we shall both maintain our influence in the Baltic, and secure a retreat from Germany. In order to preserve this port, however, we must not remain in Sweden, but pass with an army into Pomerania. Let me then hear no more of a defensive plan of operations, by which we sacrifice our greatest advantages. A hostile standard upon its territories is not a pleasing prospect for Sweden; and when vanquished in Germany it will be time enough to follow your plan."

It was thus resolved to cross the Baltic and attack the Emperor; preparations were made with the utmost expedition, and the measures embraced by Gustavus in forwarding this plan, displayed no less foresight than its execution did valour. Previous to engaging in so extensive a war, it was necessary to secure Sweden against the attempts of its neighbours. Gustavus secured the Danish king's alliance by an interview with him at Markarøed; he strengthened his frontier towards Muscovy; and Poland might be held in check in Germany if it betrayed any design of infringing the truce. Falkenberg, a Swedish emissary who went through Germany and Holland, obtained the most flattering promises from several princes, though none of them as yet possessed resolution sufficient to form an open treaty with Sweden. Lübeck and Hamburgh consented to advance money, and accept Swedish copper in return; trusty messengers were even sent to the Prince of Transylvania, in order to rouse that implacable enemy of Austria to hostility.

Meanwhile Swedish levies were made in Germany and the Netherlands; the regiments were

completed; new ones raised; transports were obtained; the fleet was fitted out; provisions, military stores, and money, were collected in the greatest possible quantities; thirty ships of war were in a short time prepared for launching; an army of 15,000 men was assembled, and two hundred transports were prepared to waft them across the Baltic. Gustavus Adolphus was desirous of introducing no greater force into Germany, and even the maintenance of this small army had hitherto exceeded the revenues of his kingdom. But small as this force was, it was chosen in point of discipline, valour, and experience, and laid the foundation of a more numerous army, provided its first attempts were attended with success. Oxenstern, both chancellor and general, was at the head of 10,000 men in Poland; some regular troops, and a considerable body of militia, which served the army as a nursery, remained in Sweden, to preserve that kingdom against any sudden invasion.

By these means the safety of Sweden was secured. Gustavus Adolphus bestowed equal care upon its interior administration. The government was entrusted to the council of state, and the finances to John Cassimir, Count Palatine, Gustavus's brother-in-law; while the Queen, notwithstanding the tender affection which he bore her, was excluded by reason of her confined talents from every share in the administration. He quitted his palace with the presentiment of seeing it no more. On the 20th of May 1630, the King appeared in the general Assembly of States at Stockholm, to bid them a solemn farewell. Here he took in his arms his daughter

Christina, then four years old, she having been previously acknowledged as his successor, presented her to the states as their future sovereign, and exacted from them an oath of allegiance to her in case of his returning no more; he also read the regulations to be observed in the government, either during his absence or the minority of his daughter. At this moving scene the Assembly dissolved into tears; and the King was himself so much overcome, that it was some time before he could pronounce the discourse he had prepared for the occasion, and which he at length delivered to the following purpose:

"It is not without just cause, Gentlemen, that I embark myself and you in the present war: God is my witness that I do not engage in this contest purely from my own inclinations. The Emperor of Germany has already inhumanly insulted me in the person of my ambassador; he has supported my enemies, persecuted my friends, oppressed my religion, and even made attempts upon my crown. The oppressed states of Germany call aloud for that vengeance which, under the influence of Divine aid, we are determined to procure them.

"I am fully sensible of the dangers to which my life will be exposed. I have never yet shrunk from danger, and I cannot avoid my fate; hitherto has Providence guarded me in a wonderful manner; but still I am destined to fall in defence of my country. Be just, be conscientious, act fairly, and we shall again meet in eternity.

"To you, my counsellors of state, I first turn myself. May God enlighten your understandings,

"and enable you to govern my people with wisdom.

"You, intrepid nobility, I commend to Divine protection. Continue to show yourselves the descendants of those Gothic heroes who laid the Roman eagles in the dust.

"To you, the ministers of religion, I recommend patience and moderation. Be an example of those virtues which you preach, and never abuse the influence which you have acquired over the minds of my people.

"Deputies of the burgesses and the peasantry, I wish you the Divine blessing. May your industry be crowned by a prosperous harvest; and may you enjoy in abundance all the goods of this life.

"For the prosperity of all subjects, both absent and present, I offer to the Supreme Being my most fervent prayers. I bid you all my most sincere farewell; and bid it, perhaps, for the last time."

The embarkation of the troops took place at Elfsnaben, where the fleet lay at anchor. An innumerable crowd of spectators flocked from all sides to behold this grand spectacle. The hearts of the spectators were moved by various sensations, whether they considered the extent of the preparations, or the greatness of the leader. Among the superior officers who commanded in this army were, Gustavus Horn, Otto Lewis, Count Palatine, Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, Ortenburg, Baudissen, Banner, Teufel, Tott, Mutsenfahl, Falkenburg, Knyphausen, and several others who had acquired a brilliant reputation. Detained by contrary winds, the fleet was unable to sail un-

til June, and arrived the 24th of that month at the island of Rügen, on the coast of Pomerania.

Gustavus Adolphus was the first who leaped on shore. In the presence of his suite he fell upon his knees to return thanks to the Almighty for the safe arrival of his fleet and army*. He landed his troops upon the islands of Wollin and Usedom: the Austrians, upon his approach, immediately quitted their entrenchments, and fled. Conquest attended his entrance into Germany. With the utmost rapidity he appeared before Stettin, to make himself master of that important place before the Imperialists took possession of it. Bogislaus XIV. Duke of Pomerania, a weak superannuated prince, was long tired of the oppressions which the Imperialists had exercised, and still continued to exercise in his territories: but, too weak to resist, he had contented himself with murmurs. The appearance of his deliverer, instead of exciting his hopes, only increased his fears and irresolution. Though his country still bled fresh from the wounds which the Imperialists inflicted, he could not be prevailed upon to join the Swedes. Gustavus Adolphus encamped under the walls of Stettin, and summoned that town to receive a Swedish garrison. Bogislaus appeared in person in the Swedish camp to excuse his not complying with this request. "I come as your friend, not as your enemy," answered Gustavus. "I do not wage war against you or the German Empire, only against the enemies of both. In my hands shall this dut-

* The Kings piety was not very consistent with the designs which he afterwards formed against the liberties of Germany.

Trans.

"thy be sacred, and it shall be restored to you
"at the conclusion of the campaign with much
"more certainty than it would by any other. Look
"to the footsteps of the Imperial troops in your
"dominions, regard those of mine in Usedom, and
"determine whether you will have the Emperor
"or me as your friend. What do you expect,
"should Ferdinand make himself master of your
"capital? Will he display more clemency than I?
"Is it your intention to stop my progress? Affairs
"are pressing, take your measures, and do not
"oblige me to have recourse to violent means."

The alternative was painful to the Duke of Pomerania. On one hand, the King of Sweden was before his gates with a formidable army; on the other he saw the terrible vengeance of the Emperor, and the melancholy prospect of so many German princes who fell a sacrifice to it, and now wandered through the world, stripped of their possessions, and in misery. The more immediate danger decided his resolution. The gates of Stettin were opened to the King. Swedish troops entered, and the advantage was gained over the Austrians, who advanced towards it by rapid marches. The possession of this place procured the King a firm footing in Pomerania, the navigation of the Oder, and a magazine for his army. Bogislaus did not scruple to excuse this measure before the Emperor on the plea of necessity, and expose himself, on the commencement, to the reproach of treachery: but aware of the implacable disposition of this monarch, he formed a close alliance with his new protector, in order, by the friendship of the Swedes, to shelter himself from Austria's vengeance. The

King acquired, by this alliance with Pomerania, an important friend in Germany, who might cover his retreat, and keep open the communication with Sweden.

Gustavus Adolphus thought himself absolved from the usual formalities towards Ferdinand, who had been the aggressor in Prussia, and commenced hostilities without a declaration of war. He justified his conduct before all Europe in a manifesto, in which he explained the grounds of his taking up arms. Meanwhile he continued his progress in Pomerania, and daily saw his army increase. The troops which he had fought under Mansfeld, the Duke of Brunswick, and Wallenstein, came, both officers and soldiers, in crowds to join his victorious standards.

The invasion of the King of Sweden excited by no means, at the Imperial court, the attention which it merited. Austria's pride, elevated to its utmost height by its hitherto unheard-of success, regarded with contempt a prince who, with a handful of men, came from an obscure corner of Europe, and whom they supposed to owe the military reputation he had already acquired to having been opposed to a still more contemptible enemy than himself. The humiliating representation which Wallenstein had artfully given of the Swedish power contributed to increase the Emperor's security. For what respect could he have for an enemy whom his general undertook to drive so easily out of Germany? Even the victorious progress of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania could not extinguish the prejudices which the ridicule of flatterers had thrown upon him. He was called in Vienna the *snow king*, who

was congealed in the North, but would infallibly melt on his approach to the southward. Even the Electors who were assembled in Ratisbon paid no attention to his manifesto, and from abject complaisance towards Ferdinand refused him the title of king. But while they amused themselves, in Vienna and Ratisbon, with turning him into ridicule, he made himself master of several strong places in Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

However, notwithstanding this contemptuous behaviour, the Emperor thought it proper to offer to terminate the quarrel with Sweden by negotiation, and actually sent plenipotentiaries to Dantzic for that purpose. But their instructions plainly showed his insincerity by still continuing to refuse Gustavus the title of King. His design was to remove the odium of being the aggressor to the King of Sweden, and thereby to claim the support of the states of the Empire. The congress at Danzig ended fruitlessly, as might have been foreseen, and the animosity of both parties was increased to its utmost pitch by a passionate correspondence.

An Imperial general, Torquato Ponti, who commanded the army in Pomerania, had in vain endeavoured to wrest Stettin from the Swedes. The Imperialists were driven from one place to another: Damm, Stargard, Camin, and Wolgast, soon fell into the King's hands. To revenge himself upon the Duke of Pomerania, the Imperial general, on the retreat of his troops, permitted them to exercise every species of barbarity upon the unfortunate inhabitants, who had already but too much suffered from his avarice. Under the pretext of depriving the Swedes of subsistence,

the whole country was laid waste and plundered; and it often happened that when the Imperialists could no longer maintain a town, it was laid in ashes, in order to leave the enemy nothing but ruins. But these barbarities served no other purpose than to set the opposite behaviour of the Swedes in a more brilliant light, and to obtain the humane King the attachment of all mankind. The Swedish soldier regularly paid for every thing, and no private property was molested on his march. In consequence of this, they were received, both in town and country, with open arms: all the Imperial soldiers who fell into the hands of the Pomeranian peasantry were massacred without compassion. A number of Pomeranians entered the Swedish service, and the states of this exhausted country willingly voted the King a contribution of a hundred thousand florins.

Torquato Conti, who, notwithstanding the severity of his character, was a consummate general, endeavoured to make the possession of Stettin useless to the King of Sweden, though he could not expel him from it. He intrenched himself at Garz, above Stettin, on the Oder, to cut off the communication of the town with Germany. Nothing could prevail upon him to give battle to the King, who was superior in strength: the latter was equally cautious in not storming the intrenchments of the Imperialists. Torquato, wanting both men and money, intended by this plan of operations to gain time for Tilly to hasten to the assistance of Pomerania, and then, in conjunction with that general, to advance upon the Swedes. He took advantage of the King's absence to make an attempt to surprise Stettin;

but the Swedes were prepared for him. A spirited attack of the Imperialists was firmly sustained, and Torquato retired with great loss. It is not to be denied, that Gustavus Adolphus owed this successful commencement of the war as much to fortune as to his military talents. The Imperial troops in Pomerania were greatly reduced since Wallenstein's dismissal. Their ravages were now severely retorted upon them: an exhausted desolated country could no longer afford the means of subsistence; discipline was lost, and the troops ceased to respect the orders of their officers. Their numbers visibly diminished, both by great desertions and a mortality which the severe colds had brought among them in a strange climate. Under these circumstances the Imperial general was desirous of allowing his troops the repose of winter quarters. But he had to oppose him an enemy who felt no winter in the climate of Germany. The Imperial plenipotentiaries who came to treat for a cessation of hostilities received the following discouraging answer: "The Swedes are soldiers in winter as well as in summer, and not disposed to oppress the poor inhabitants. The Imperialists may act as they think proper, but they must not expect to remain quiet." Shortly after Torquato Conti resigned a command which offered neither riches nor reputation.

From this unequal state of both armies, the advantage must naturally have been on the Swedish side. The Imperialists were perpetually harassed in their winter quarters; Greifenhagen, an important place upon the Oder, was taken by storm, and the towns of Garz and Pyritz were at length

abandoned by the enemy. Of all Pomerania, Greifswald, Demmin, and Colberg alone, remained in their hands, and the King made the necessary preparations to besiege these places. The flying enemy directed his course towards the March of Brandenburg, not without sustaining great loss in artillery, baggage, and men, which fell into the hands of their pursuers.

By seizing the passes at Ribnitz and Damgarten, Gustavus Adolphus had opened himself the passage into Mecklenburg, whose inhabitants were invited by a manifesto to return under the allegiance of their legitimate sovereign, and to expel Wallenstein's party. The Austrians, however, made themselves masters of the important town of Rostock, which prevented the farther advances of the King, who was unwilling to divide his forces. The Dukes of Mecklenburg had in vain employed the good offices of the princes assembled at Ratisbon in their favour with the Emperor; they had in vain, in order to soften Ferdinand, renounced the Swedish alliance and every idea of resistance. But rendered desperate by the Emperor's inflexibility, they now openly espoused the party of the King of Sweden, and raised troops, the command of which they gave to Francis Charles Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg. This general made himself master of some strong places on the Elbe, but lost them afterwards to the Imperial general Pappenheim, who was detached against him. Soon after, besieged by the latter in the town of Ratzeburg, he saw himself, after a fruitless attempt to make his escape, obliged to surrender with all his troops prisoners. Thus ended the attempt which those unfortunate princes

made towards their reinstatement, and it was reserved for the victorious army of Gustavus Adolphus to render them that important service.

The flying bands of the Austrians had thrown themselves into the March of Brandenburg, which now became the scene of their ravages. Not contented with making the most wanton executions, and vexing the people by quartering soldiers upon them, these barbarians plundered the houses, ransacked every place where they suspected property to be concealed, took all the provisions which they could find, ill-treated those who made the slightest opposition, and ravished even pregnant women. All this was not even committed in an enemy's country. It was the usage which the subjects of a prince received who had never injured the Emperor; and would, notwithstanding all those insults, willingly have been persuaded by the latter to join him against the King of Sweden. The aspect of those dreadful disorders which the want of money, and of sufficient authority, compelled them to tolerate, excited even the displeasure of the Austrian officers; and the general, Count Schaumburg, from shame wished to lay down command. Without force sufficient to defend his territories, and left without assistance by the Emperor, who paid no attention to the most pressing remonstrances, the Elector at length issued an edict, ordering his subjects to repel force by force, and to kill without mercy every Imperial soldier who should in future be detected in plundering. To such a length were brought the ravages of the country, and the misery of its government, that the only desperate remedy which remained to the sovereign

was to encourage private vengeance by a formal law.

The Imperialists were followed by the Swedes into the March of Brandenburg; but upon the Elector's refusal to permit the latter to pass through the fortress of Custrin, the King was obliged to lay aside the design he had formed of besieging Frankfort on the Oder. He returned to complete the conquest of Pomerania, by taking Demmin and Colberg; in the mean time Field-marshal Tilly was advancing to defend Brandenburg.

This general, who could boast of never hitherto losing a battle, the conqueror of Mansfeld, the Duke of Brunswic, the Margrave of Baden, and the King of Denmark, was now, in the Swedish monarch, to find an adversary worthy of him. Tilly was descended from a noble family in the Liege country, and had formed his talents in the wars of the Netherlands, which was then the school of generals. Soon after he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself under the Emperor Rodolph II. in Hungary, where he rapidly rose from one step to another. After the peace he entered the service of the Duke of Bavaria, who made him commander in chief of his army, with absolute authority. Tilly, by his excellent institutions, was the founder of the Bavarian army, and it was to him that the Duke owed all the superiority which he had hitherto maintained in the field. After the conclusion of the war in Bohemia he received the command of the army of the League, and now, upon Wallenstein's dismissal, that of the Imperial army. Equally strict towards his troops, implacable towards his enemies,

and of as impenetrable a disposition as Wallenstein, he far exceeded the latter in probity and disinterestedness. A bigotted zeal for religion, and a bloody spirit of persecution, united with the natural ferocity of his character to render him the terror of the Protestants. A strange and terrific aspect betrayed his disposition: of low stature; meagre, with hollow jaws, a long nose, a broad forehead; large whiskers, and a sharp chin. He commonly appeared in a Spanish doublet of green atlas, with close sleeves, and a small high-crowned hat, decorated with an enormous red feather, which reached down as far as his back. His whole aspect recalled to recollection the Duke of Alba, the scourge of the Flemings, and his actions were far from effacing that impression. Such was the general who was opposed to the Hero of the North.

Tilly was very far from entertaining a mean opinion of his antagonist: "The King of Sweden," said he, at the diet of Ratisbon, is an enemy whose prudence equals his valour; he is inured to war, and in the flower of his age. His dispositions are excellent, and his resources not small: the states of his kingdom are uncommonly attached to him. His army, composed of Swedes, Germans, Livonians, Finlanders, Scots, and English, is blended into one nation by blind obedience. This is the player from whom much is won even by losing nothing."

The progress of the King of Sweden in Brandenburg and Pomerania left the new general no time to lose, and those who commanded there called for him in the most pressing manner. With all possible haste he assembled the Imperial

troops, who were scattered over the Empire; but it required a considerable time to procure the necessary supplies from the desolated, impoverished country. At length he appeared, in the midst of winter, at the head of 20,000 men, before Frankfort on the Oder, where he joined the remainder of Schaumburg's troops. He left the defence of the fortress to the latter general with a sufficient garrison, and hastened to Pomerania, in order to save Demmin and relieve Colberg, which was already reduced to the utmost straits by the Swedes. But before he could leave Brandenburg, Demmin, which was extremely ill defended by the Duke of Savelli, was already in the hands of the King, and Colberg, after a siege of five months, was starved to a surrender. As the passes in Upper Pomerania were well guarded, and the King's camp near Schwedt defied every attack, Tilly abandoned his offensive plan of operations, and marched back towards the Elbe to besiege Magdeburg.

By the surrender of Demmin the entrance to Mecklenburg lay open to the King; but a more important undertaking drew his arms to another quarter. Tilly had no sooner commenced his retrograde march, than he instantly broke up his camp at Schwedt, and advanced with his whole army against Frankfort on the Oder. This town was but badly fortified, though defended by a garrison of 8000 men, mostly composed of those furious bands who had so cruelly ravaged Brandenburg and Pomerania. It was attacked with impetuosity, and on the third day taken by storm. The Swedes, assured of victory, rejected a capitulation, though the enemy twice beat the cha-

made, determining to exercise the dreadful right of retaliation. Tilly had, soon after his arrival in this quarter, surrounded a Swedish detachment in Brandenburg, and, exasperated at the obstinacy of their resistance, had cut them in pieces to a man. This cruelty was now remembered by the Swedes when they took Frankfort. *Brandenburg quarter!* they replied to the Imperial soldiers who begged their lives, and slaughtered them without compassion. Several thousands were killed or taken, a number were drowned in the Oder, the remainder fled to Silesia, and all their artillery fell into the hands of the Swedes. To satisfy the rage of his troops, the King was under the necessity of giving up the town to be plundered for three hours.

While Gustavus Adolphus hastened from one victory to another, thereby encouraging the Protestants and augmenting their resistance, the Emperor continued without intermission to enforce the edict of restitution, and by exorbitant pretensions to exhaust the patience of the states. Necessity now obliged him to have recourse to acts of violence, which he had heretofore practised from insolence; from the embarrassment into which his arbitrary behaviour had thrown him, he could now only relieve himself by means equally arbitrary. But in so complicated a body as the German empire is, and always has been, the hand of despotism must ever create the utmost confusion. With astonishment the princes saw the constitution of their country overturned, and the approaching state of nature led them to self-defence; the only remedy in such a situation. At length, the open steps which the Em-

peror took against the Protestant church undeceived the Elector of Saxony; who had so long been the dupe of his artful policy. By the exclusion of his son from the archbishopric of Magdeburg, Ferdinand had personally offended him, and Field-marshal Arnheim, his new favourite and minister, spared no pains to increase the resentment of his master. He had been formerly an Imperial general under Wallenstein, and being still the warm friend of the latter, he sought to avenge his old benefactor and himself upon the Emperor, and to detach the Elector of Saxony from the Austrian interests. The invasion of the Swedes seconded his intentions. Gustavus Adolphus was invincible, if once joined by the Protestant states; and this more alarmed the Emperor. Saxony's example might bring the rest to declare themselves; and the Emperor's fate appeared, in some measure, to depend upon the Elector John George. The artful favourite made his master sensible of his present importance, and advised him, by threatening an alliance with Sweden, to alarm the Emperor, and to extort from the fears of that prince the conditions which he could not obtain from his gratitude. Yet he was against absolutely excluding him from the Swedish alliance, in order, by maintaining his independence, to continue his importance. He persuaded him to adopt a grand design (which nothing but an able genius prevented him from executing), to put himself at the head of the Protestants, to erect a third power in Germany, and thereby obtain the means of deciding the dispute between Austria and Sweden. This plan was the more flattering to John George, who equally hated the idea of being depend-

ant upon Sweden, and remaining any longer under the Emperor's tyranny. He could not with indifference behold the German affairs under the disposal of a foreign prince; and, notwithstanding his slender capacity to act a principal part, his vanity could not content itself with a second. He therefore determined to draw every possible advantage from the progress of the Swedish King, but still to pursue his own plan independent of the latter. For this purpose he consulted with the Elector of Brandenburg, who, from similar causes, was prepared to act against the Emperor, and, at the same time, was jealous of Sweden. After he had, in a diet held at Torgau, secured the Saxon states, whose consent was absolutely necessary to forward his plan, he invited all the Protestant states of the Empire to a general convention, which was opened at Leipzig on the 6th of February 1631. Brandenburg and Hesse Cassel, with several princes, counts, States of the Empire, and Protestant bishops, appeared in this assembly, either personally or by their deputies; and the business was opened by a vehement pulpit oration from the Saxon state chaplain, Dr. Hoe of Hohenegg. In vain did the Emperor endeavour to suppress this arbitrary meeting, which apparently reckoned upon its own strength, and was particularly alarming when the Swedes were in the Empire. The princes who assembled, encouraged by the progress of Gustavus Adolphus, maintained their rights, and in two months broke up, after coming to a remarkable resolution, which put Ferdinand in no small embarrassment. The purpose of this was effectually to address the Emperor to recall

the edict of restitution, to withdraw his troops from their residences and fortresses, to suspend the executions, and abolish all the abuses hitherto practised; in the mean time, however, to assemble an army of 40,000 men, to be prepared to redress their grievances by force, should the Emperor refuse compliance.

An incident took place at the same time, which contributed not a little to augment the resolution of the Protestant princes. The King of Sweden had at length overcome the scruples which had hitherto deterred him from a closer union with France, and on the 13th of January 1631, concluded a formal treaty with that crown. After a very serious dispute concerning the future treatment of the Catholic princes of the Empire, whom France had taken under her protection, and upon whom Gustavus, on the contrary, was desirous of retaliating; and a wrangle of less importance, on the title of *His Majesty*, which the pride of France denied that of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus at length yielded in the former, and Richelieu in the latter article; and the treaty of alliance was signed at Baerwald, in the New Mark. Both powers bound themselves to defend each other reciprocally by force of arms; to reinstate the expelled princes of the Empire; to protect their common friends, and on the borders as well as in the interior of Germany to place matters upon the same footing in which they were at the commencement of the war. For this purpose Sweden engaged to maintain an army of 30,000 men in Germany, upon condition of receiving from France a yearly subsidy of 400,000 dollars. Wherever fortune attended the arms of Gustavus

Adolphus, he was to respect, in all the conquered places, the Catholic religion and the laws of the Empire, and to make no change in either. The treaty was to be open for the admission of foreign states and princes, and no one party was to conclude a separate peace without the participation and consent of the other. This treaty was to continue in force five years.

Whatever efforts within himself it had cost the King of Sweden to receive subsidies from France, and to sacrifice the power of carrying on the war independently, this alliance was decisive for his cause in Germany. It was now, when he was protected by the greatest power in Europe, that the states of Germany began to have a confidence in his undertaking; for the issue of which they had hitherto trembled, not without cause. It was now he became truly formidable to the Emperor. Even the Catholic princes, who were desirous of beholding the Emperor's humiliation, beheld with little jealousy his progress in Germany, since his alliance with a Catholic power secured their religion. Thus, while the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus protected the Protestants, and the liberty of the Empire against Ferdinand's oppression, the interference of France would equally defend the Catholic religion, and the liberties of Germany, against Gustavus Adolphus, should that prince, in the intoxication of success, venture to exceed the bounds of moderation.

The King of Sweden did not hesitate to communicate the treaty which he had concluded with France to the princes of the confederacy of Leipzig, and to invite them to a closer union with him. France also seconded him in this effort,

and spared no pains to prevail upon the Elector of Saxony. Gustavus Adolphus was satisfied with a private support, provided the princes still thought it too bold a step to declare themselves. Several princes gave him hopes that they would espouse his cause so soon as circumstances would permit: the Elector of Saxony, always full of distrust and jealousy towards the King, and constantly adhering to his selfish system of politics, could not be prevailed upon to act openly.

The conclusion of the convention of Leipsic, and the alliance between France and Sweden, were news equally disagreeable to the Emperor. Against them he employed the thunder of Imperial ordinances, and the want of an army alone prevented him from displaying towards France the entire force of his displeasure. Restrictions were laid upon all the members of the convention at Leipsic, by which they were, in the severest manner, prohibited from enlisting troops. They answered with the sharpest remonstrances, justified their conduct upon the principle of natural right, and continued their preparations.

In the mean time the Imperial generals, from want of money and troops, found themselves reduced to the necessity of confining their hostility either to the King of Sweden, or to the states of the Empire, as, with a divided power, they were a match for neither. The movements of the Protestants drew their attention to the interior of the Empire; the King of Sweden's progress in the March of Brandenburg, which threatened the hereditary dominions of the Emperor in the vicinity, required them, without delay, to turn their

arms to that quarter. After the conquest of Frankfort, the King advanced against Landsberg on the Wartha; and Tilly, unsuccessful in an attempt to relieve the former town, returned to Magdeburg to prosecute its siege.

The rich bishopric of which Magdeburg was the capital, was for a considerable time governed by Protestant princes of the house of Brandenburg, who introduced their religion there. Christian William, the last administrator, had, by his connexion with Denmark, fallen under the bann of the Empire, by which means the chapter, to avoid the Emperor's displeasure, found themselves under the necessity of formally deposing him. In his stead they placed John Augustus, second son of the Elector of Saxony, whom the Emperor rejected, in order to confer that archbishopric on his own son Leopold. The Elector of Saxony made, upon this occasion, ineffectual complaints to the Imperial court. Christian William of Brandenburg took more active measures. Assured of the attachment of the magistrates and inhabitants of Magdeburg, and excited by chimerical hopes, he thought himself capable of surmounting all the obstacles which the decision of the chapter, the opposition of two powerful competitors, and the edict of restitution, presented to his election. He went to Sweden, and sought, by the promise of a powerful diversion in Germany, to promote his cause. That king did not leave him without the hope of efficacious support, but at the same time cautioned him to act with prudence.

Scarcely had Christian William been informed of the landing of his protector in Pomerania, when he entered Magdeburg in disguise. He ap-

peared suddenly in the town-council, reminded the magistrates of the destructive ravages which both the town and country had suffered from the Imperial troops, the ruinous pretensions of Ferdinand, and the danger of the Protestant church. After this prelude he disclosed to them that the moment of their deliverance was arrived, and that Gustavus Adolphus offered them his alliance and every assistance. Magdeburg, one of the principal towns in Germany, enjoyed under its magistrates a republican freedom, which inspired its inhabitants with a heroic enthusiasm; of this they had already displayed towards Wallenstein (who, captivated by their riches, had made exorbitant demands) the most laudable proofs, and maintained their rights by a vigorous resistance: their territory had in fact experienced the destructive rage of his troops, but Magdeburg itself escaped his vengeance. It was not, therefore, difficult for the Administrator to gain adherents among a people in whose memory a sense of past sufferings was still recent. An alliance was concluded between the city and the King of Sweden, in which Magdeburg granted the latter a free passage through its gates and territories, with a liberty of recruiting; and obtained the most effectual promise of protection for its religion and privileges.

The Administrator immediately collected troops, and commenced hostilities before Gustavus Adolphus was sufficiently near effectually to support him. He succeeded in defeating some Austrian detachments in the neighbourhood, made a few small conquests, and even surprised Halle. But the approach of an Imperial army obliged him

with all possible haste, and not without loss, to retreat to Magdeburg. Gustavus Adolphus, though displeased with this overhasty commencement, sent Falkenberg, an experienced officer, to regulate the military operations, and assist him with his counsel. Falkenberg was appointed by the magistrates governor of the town during the war; the Prince's army was daily increased by recruits arriving from the neighbouring towns; he gained several advantages over the Imperial regiments which were sent against him; and was able, for several months, to maintain with success a war of skirmishes.

At length Count Pappenheim approached, after concluding his expedition against the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, and having driven the Administrator's troops from their outposts, cut off all their communication with Saxony, and began to invest the place. He was soon after followed by Tilly, who summoned the Administrator, in a haughty letter, no longer to resist the edict of restitution, and to deliver up the town in obedience to the Emperor's commands. But the refusal of the Prince, couched in the most resolute terms, obliged Tilly to have recourse to the force of arms.

Meanwhile the siege was prolonged, by reason of the King of Sweden's progress, which called the Austrian generals from before the place; and the jealousy which his successor entertained of him, procrastinated the fate of Magdeburg some months. But on the 30th of March 1631, Tilly returned, and began to prosecute the siege with great vigour.

In a short time all the outworks were carried, and Falkenberg withdrew the garrison from the

opposite side of the river, after having destroyed the bridge upon the Elbe. As there were in the place no troops sufficient to defend its extensive suburbs, those of Sudenburg and Neustadt were abandoned to the enemy, who immediately laid them in ashes. Pappenheim, quitting Tilly's corps, passed the Elbe at Schoenenbeck, to attack the town upon the opposite side.

The garrison, weakened by the action in the suburbs, amounted to no more than two thousand infantry, and some hundred horse; a small number for so extensive and irregular a fortress. To supply the deficiency, the citizens were armed; a desperate expedient, which caused greater evils than it prevented. The citizens, naturally inexpert soldiers, ruined the town by their dissensions; the poorer sort complained that they were exposed to every danger and difficulty, while the rich, by hiring others to perform their duty, remained within their houses in safety. Their quarrels terminated in an open mutiny; indifference succeeded zeal, and vigilance gave place to neglect; their divisions, heightened by necessity, gradually produced despair, and many already began to repent of the opposition which they made to the Emperor. But religious zeal, the love of liberty, and their invincible hatred to the yoke of Austria; added to the expectation of speedy relief, made them still disdain the idea of a surrender; and though divided among themselves, they were united in the resolution of defending the ramparts to the last extremity.

The hopes of succour entertained by the besieged were not ill-grounded; they were informed of the confederacy of Leipsic, and the approach

of Gustavus Adolphus; both were alike interested in the preservation of Magdeburg, and in a few days the king of Sweden was expected before its gates. These circumstances were not unknown to Tilly, who therefore hastened to make himself master of the place. He dispatched a trumpeter with several letters to the Administrator, the governor, and the citizens, to induce them to surrender; but he received for answer that death was preferable. A spirited attack of the garrison convinced him that their resolution was not abated; and the King of Sweden's arrival in Potsdam, together with the incursions of the Swedes as far as Zerbst, gave him uneasiness, while it raised the hopes of the garrison. A second trumpeter was sent, and the more moderate tone of his demands further increased their presumption and negligence.

The besiegers had now pushed their approaches as far as the ditch, and vigorously cannonaded the walls from their batteries; one tower was entirely overthrown, but did not facilitate the enemy's attack, as it fell on one side, and not into the ditch. Notwithstanding the continual bombardment, the walls had not suffered much; and the effect of the fire-balls, intended to kindle flames in the town, was prevented by the excellent measures which were taken to oppose them. But the ammunition of the besieged was now expended and the fire from the town ceased gradually to return that of the Imperialists. Before a fresh supply could be obtained, it was necessary that Magdeburg should be either relieved or surrender to the enemy. The expectations of the besieged were now raised to the utmost, and all

eyes were anxiously turned towards the quarter where the Swedish standard was expected to appear. Gustavus Adolphus was sufficiently near to be able to reach Magdeburg in three days; the security of the besieged augmented with their hopes, and every circumstance contributed to increase it. On the 9th of May the fire of the Imperialists suddenly ceased, and the cannon were withdrawn from several of their batteries. Every circumstance now tended to inspire the besieged with the speedy hopes of relief; the greater part of the guard, both citizens and soldiers, left their posts on the ramparts early in the morning, in order, after their long toils, to indulge themselves in sleep. But it was a dear sleep, and miserable waking!

Tilly had at length relinquished the hope of being able to render himself master of the place, before the arrival of the Swedes, by the means which he had hitherto employed, and determined to raise the siege, but previously make a general assault. That plan was, however, attended with much difficulty, as no breach had been effected, and the works were scarcely injured; but the council of war, assembled on the occasion, declared unanimously for an assault, citing the example of Maestricht, which was taken by storm early in the morning, while the burghers and soldiers were reposing themselves *.

It was accordingly resolved upon to attack the

* This was in the preceding century, by Alexander of Parma. See the elaborate description of it in *Strada de Bello Belgico*. The same arguments were urged by the celebrated Vauban afterwards, in storming Valenciennes, and succeeded. *Trans.*

town at once in four different places; and the necessary preparations were made during the night of the 9th and 10th of May. All was ready, and awaited the signal of cannon at five in the morning; the signal was not, however, given until two hours later, as Tilly, still doubtful of success, had re-assembled the council of war. Pappenheim was ordered to storm the works of the new town, where he was favoured by a low rampart and a dry ditch of moderate depth; the citizens and soldiers had mostly abandoned the walls, and the remaining few were overcome by sleep; it therefore became easy for this general to gain the outworks.

Falkenberg, aroused by the report of small arms hastened from the town-house, where he was employed in dispatching Tilly's second trumpeter, to assemble all the force he could meet, and went to the gate of the new town, of which the enemy had already taken possession. There repulsed, the brave general flew to another, where a second detachment of the enemy was preparing to scale the walls; after an ineffectual resistance, he fell in the commencement of the action. The vehement fire of musketry, and the shouts of the assailants, at length awoke the inhabitants; they immediately betook themselves to arms, and opposed the enemy in a confused manner. Still some hopes of repulsing the besiegers remained; but the governor being killed, there was no plan of attack, no cavalry to support the garrison; and at length, their powder being exhausted, nothing remained to sustain the fire. Two other gates, hitherto unattacked, were stripped of their defenders to relieve the town in another quarter;

the enemy rapidly availed themselves of the confusion occasioned by this, to attack those posts: the resistance was nevertheless obstinate, until four Imperial regiments, at length masters of the ramparts, took the garrison in the rear, and completed their confusion. A brave captain named Schmidt, whose intrepidity led him amid the tumult, made a final assault upon the enemy, and even repulsed them to the gates: but at length being killed, the hopes of Magdeburg expired with him; all the works were carried before noon, and the town was in possession of the enemy.

Two gates were now opened by the assailants for the remainder of the army, and Tilly immediately entered with a part of his infantry; he took possession of the principal streets, and with pointed cannon ordered the citizens into their houses to await their destiny. They were not long held in suspense; a word from Tilly decided the fate of Magdeburg. Even the efforts of a more humane general would have in vain attempted to restrain such troops within bounds: but this commander did not once recommend mercy. Left at his own disposal by the silence of his general, the soldier broke into houses to satiate his most brutal appetites; the imploring innocence which found compassion from the Germans, could meet with none from Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarce had the massacre commenced, when the remaining gates were thrown open, and all the cavalry and Croats let loose against the unfortunate inhabitants.

Here commenced a scene, to describe which history has no language, poetry no pencil. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the debility of old age; neither youth, sex, beauty, nor con-

dition, could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abused in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents, and the defenceless sex was exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life; no situation, however sacred or elevated, was exempt from insult. Fifty-three dead bodies of women who had been beheaded were found in the cathedral: the Croats amused themselves in throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons in murdering infants at the breast. Some officers of the Catholic League, shocked at those frightful scenes, entreated Tilly to stop the effusion of blood. "Return in an hour," was his stern answer; "I will then see what is to be done; the soldier must have some reward for his toils." The massacre lasted with incessant fury until the smoke and flames interrupted the plunderers. To augment the confusion, and prevent the resistance of the inhabitants, the town had been set on fire in different quarters; a storm arose which spread the flames with rapidity, and soon made them universal. The horrors of the scene were augmented by the dead bodies, falling ruins, and streams of blood; the atmosphere was heated, and the intenseness of the vapour at length compelled the conquerors to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours this strong, populous and extensive city, one of the finest in Germany, lay in ashes, with the exception of two churches and a few houses. The Administrator, Christian William, after receiving a number of wounds, was taken prisoner, together with three burgomasters. A number of brave officers and magistrates were killed. The avarice of the Imperial officers spared

four hundred of the citizens from the slaughter, to obtain from them an exorbitant ransom. Even this piece of humanity, which made them appear guardian angels in comparison with the Ausrians, was principally shown by the officers of the League.

Scarce was the fury of the flames diminished, when the Imperialists returned to continue the pillage amid the ruins and ashes; several of them were suffocated in the smoke; many obtained rich booty in the cellars, where the inhabitants had concealed their most valuable effects. On the 13th of May, Tilly himself appeared in the town. Horrible was the scene which presented itself to humanity! The living crawling from under the dead; children wandering about with heart-rending cries, calling for their parents; infants suckling at the dead bodies of their mothers!

Above six thousand slain were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets; a much greater number were consumed by the flames. The entire amount of the slaughtered was calculated at thirty thousand.

The entry of the general, which took place on the 14th, put a stop to the plunder, and saved those who had hitherto been spared. About a thousand people were taken out of the cathedral; where they had remained three days and two nights without food, and in continual fear of death; Tilly announced to them quarter, and ordered bread to be distributed among them. The next day a solemn mass was performed in this cathedral, and *The Deum* sung under a discharge of artillery. The Imperial general rode through the streets, the better, as an eye-witness, to be able

to inform his master that no such conquest had been made since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem. Neither was this assertion exaggerated, if we consider the greatness, the prosperity, the importance of the city razed, together with the fury of its conquerors.

The news of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg excited exultation among the Catholics, and spread terror and dismay among the Protestants of Germany. Loud and general complaints were uttered against the King of Sweden, who, at the head of such a force, and in the very neighbourhood, left to its fate this city, which was allied to him. Even the most rational found the King's inactivity incomprehensible; and Gustavus Adolphus, that he might not irrecoverably lose the attachment of a people to whose delivery he was come, saw himself under the necessity of publishing to the world a justification of his conduct upon this occasion.

He had attacked Landsberg, and gained it on the 16th of April, when he learned the danger to which Magdeburg was exposed. Without delay he determined to relieve it, and immediately putting himself at the head of all his cavalry, and ten regiments of infantry, marched towards the Spree. The situation in which he found himself, rendered it necessary that he should not move forward without previously securing his rear. With caution he must now traverse a country where he was surrounded by suspicious friends and formidable enemies, and where one false step would cut him off from his own country. The Elector of Brandenburg had already opened Custrin to the flying Imperialists and shut it against their

Swedish pursuers. Were Gustavus to be unfortunate against Tilly, this Elector could open all his fortresses to the Imperialists, and the King, with an enemy in front and rear, was then irrecoverably lost. To avoid this accident in his present undertaking, before he advanced to relieve Magdeburg, he required from the Elector the cession of Custrin and Spandau *.

Nothing appeared more reasonable than this demand. The great service which Gustavus Adolphus had lately rendered the Elector by the expulsion of the Imperialists from the territories of Brandenburg, afforded him a claim to gratitude, while the conduct of the Swedes in Germany gave them pretensions to confidence. But by the surrender of his fortresses, the Elector, in some measure, made the King of Sweden master of his country, breaking with the Emperor, and thereby exposing his territories to the future vengeance of the Imperialists. George William had a long contest with himself, but pusillanimity and self-interest at length appeared to prevail. Unmoved by the fate of Magdeburg, callous towards religion and German liberty, he saw nothing but his own danger; and this indifference was increased to the utmost pitch by his minister Schwartzenberg, who was privately corrupted by the Emperor. In the mean time, the Swedish troops drew near Berlin, and the King took up his residence with the Elector. When he perceived the painful anxiety of this prince, he could not contain his displeasure: "I march,"

* The King's conduct upon this occasion, as well as on all others, displays a consummate generalship. *Trans.*

said he, "to relieve Magdeburg, not for my own advantage, but for that of the Protestant religion. If unsupported, I will immediately begin my retreat, enter into a treaty with the Emperor, and return to Stockholm. I am convinced that Ferdinand will grant me whatever peace I require. But if Magdeburg is once lost, and the Emperor relieved from his apprehensions of me, reflect upon the consequences." This timely threat, and perhaps also the aspect of the Swedish army, which was sufficiently powerful to obtain that by force which he demanded peaceably, at length influenced the Elector to deliver Spandau into his hands.

The King now possessed two roads to Magdeburg, of which one to the westward led through an exhausted country, and amid the enemy's troops, who might dispute the passage of the Elbe with him. The other to the south led through Dessau or Wittenberg, where he found bridges to pass the Elbe, and where he could procure some provisions from Saxony. But this could not take place without the consent of the Elector of Saxony, in whom Gustavus placed the utmost distrust. Accordingly, previous to his beginning his march, he demanded of that prince a free passage and subsistence for his troops, on ready payment. His demand was rejected, and no representations could prevail upon the Elector to depart from his system of neutrality. While this point was disputed, intelligence arrived of the capture of Magdeburg.

Tilly announced this event to the Protestant princes in the tone of a conqueror, and lost not a moment to profit by the universal consternation

it excited. The Emperor's consequence, visibly diminished by the progress which Gustavus Adolphus had already made, was raised higher than ever upon this decisive event; and he soon displayed this alteration in the imperious language with which he addressed the Protestant states. The resolutions of the confederacy of Leipsic were annulled by a proclamation, itself was suppressed by an Imperial decree, and all the refractory states were threatened with the fate of Magdeburg. As executor of this Imperial mandate, Tilly immediately ordered troops to march against the Bishop of Bremen, who was a member of the confederacy of Leipsic, and had enlisted soldiers. The terrified Bishop immediately gave them up to the General, and formally renounced the confederacy of Leipsic. An Imperial army, which had lately returned from Italy, under the command of Count Fürstenberg, acted in the same manner towards the Administrator of Wirtemberg. The Duke was obliged to submit to the edict of restitution, and all the decrees of the Emperor; and also to pay a monthly subsidy of 100,000 dollars, towards subsisting the Imperial army. Similar grievances were imposed upon Ulm and Nuremberg, and the entire circles of Suabia and Franconia. The Emperor was now become the terror of Germany. The sudden superiority which he obtained upon the occasion, more from appearance than reality, made him exceed the bounds of that moderation which he had hitherto observed, and led him to violent measures, which at length turned the irresolution of the German princes to the advantage of Gustavus Adolphus. The immediate consequences of Magdeburg's destruction

were not more injurious to the Protestants, than its distant effects were advantageous. The first surprise soon made room for an active resentment. Despair afforded courage, and the liberties of Germany arose out of the ashes of Magdeburg.

Among the princes of the Leipsic confederacy, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel were the most powerful, and the Emperor's authority remained unconfirmed until they were disarmed. Tilly first turned his arms against the Landgrave, and marched from Magdeburg towards Thuringia. The countries of Saxe-Ernest and Schwarzburg were upon this march extremely ill treated, and Frankenhausen, even before the eyes of Tilly, plundered and laid in ashes with impunity. The unfortunate subject must, upon this occasion, make dear sacrifices for his master's attachment to Sweden. Erfurt, the key between Saxony and Franconia, was threatened with a siege; from which however, it redeemed itself by supplying the Imperialists with provisions and a sum of money. From thence Tilly dispatched his ambassadors to the Landgrave of Cassel, to require the immediate dismissal of his forces, the renunciation of the confederacy of Leipsic: the reception of Imperial troops in his territory and fortresses, for the purpose of raising contributions; and either to declare himself a friend or an enemy. Such was the treatment which a sovereign prince of Germany was now to receive from a servant of the Emperor. But these extravagant demands acquired a formidable weight from the force which accompanied them, and the recent remembrance of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg must naturally increase their impression. This

renders the intrepidity of the Landgrave's following answer the more admirable: "The admission of foreign troops into his fortresses and capital, the Landgrave cannot allow; his troops he himself wants; he will resist any attack. If General Tilly requires money and provisions, he need only go to Munich, where there is a supply of both." The irruptions of two bodies of Imperialists into Hesse-Cassel were the immediate consequence of this spirited answer; but the Landgrave gave them such a reception that they gained nothing. But after Tilly himself was on the point of following them with his whole army, the unfortunate country would have dearly purchased the firmness of its sovereign, if the movements of the King of Sweden had not, at a critical moment, recalled that general to another quarter.

Gustavus Adolphus had, with the severest affliction learned the destruction of Magdeburg; and this was now augmented by the demand of George William, of having Spandau restored to him according to their agreement. The loss of Magdeburg had rather augmented than lessened the motives for which the King sought possession of that fortress: and the greater the probability of a decisive battle between him and Tilly became, the more painful it was to relinquish the sole retreat which he possessed in case of a defeat. After he had fruitlessly expended his entreaties and remonstrances with the Elector of Brandenburg, and the coldness of the latter rather daily increased, he at length sent orders to his commander at Spandau to evacuate the place; but at the same time declared, that he would from that day regard the Elector as an enemy.

To give weight to this declaration, he appeared at the head of his whole army before Berlin. "I will not be worse treated than the Emperor's generals," was his answer to the deputies which the confounded Elector sent to his camp: "your master has received them in his territories, provided them with every necessary, delivered up every place which they desired, and yet, by all these acts of complaisance, could not prevail upon them to act with humanity towards his people. All that I require from him is security, a moderate sum of money, and bread for my troops: in return for which I promise to protect his country, and to keep the war at a distance from him. On these points, however, I must rest, and my brother the Elector must instantly determine to have me as a friend, or see his capital plundered.,, This decisive tone made an impression, and the pointing of cannon against the town overcame the doubts of George William. In a few days a treaty was signed, in which the Elector agreed to pay 30,000 dollars monthly, to leave Spandau in the King's hands, and engaged to open Custrin at all times to his troops. This decisive alliance of the Elector of Brandenburg with the Swedes found no better reception in Vienna than that of the Duke of Pomerania had formerly done; but the unfavourable change of fortune which it soon after experienced permitted the Emperor to display his resentment in no other manner than by his words.

The king's pleasure upon this agreeable intelligence was augmented on hearing that Greifswald, the only fortress which the Imperialists

maintained in Pomerania, had surrendered, and that the whole country was cleared of this desperate enemy. He appeared once more in this dutchy, and was much gratified at the universal joy with which the people received him. A year had elapsed since Gustavus had entered Germany, and that event was now celebrated by the whole dutchy of Pomerania as a festival. A short time before, the Czar of Muscovy had sent ambassadors to congratulate him, renew his alliance, and even offer him troops. He had the greater reason to rejoice at this friendly disposition of the Russians, as it was contrary to his interests in this dangerous war to be disturbed in his progress. Not long after his Queen, Maria Eleanora, landed with a reinforcement of 8000 men in Pomerania; and the arrival of 6000 English troops under the Marquis of Hamilton, can be the less passed in silence, as *their arrival alone* is all which history mentions of the English troops during the thirty years war *.

Pappenheim had, during Tilly's expedition to Thuringia, commanded in the territories of Magdeburg, but could not prevent the Swedes from passing the Elbe at various times, cutting off a number of Imperial detachments, and taking possession of several places. He himself, rendered anxious by the King of Sweden's approach, immediately recalled Tilly, and prevailed upon him

* These auxiliaries were Scots and English, and afford the first example, perhaps, that ever occurred, of British troops performing nothing worthy of their native country in a foreign one. They were, however, commanded by a hypocrite and a coward, as his subsequent conduct, when opposed to Cromwell, showed him to be. *Trans.*

to return by rapid marches to Magdeburg. Tilly encamped on one side of the river at Wolmirstädt; Gustavus Adolphus placed himself at Werben, near the conflux of the Havel and the Elbe. The latter's approach in these quarters portended no advantage to Tilly. The Swedes routed three of his regiments which were posted in villages at a distance from the army, took one half of their baggage; and burned the remainder. Tilly in vain approached within cannon-shot of the King's camp, and offered him battle. Gustavus, one half weaker than his adversary, prudently declined it; and his position was too strong to permit an attack. There ensued a cannonade and some skirmishes, in which the Swedes had constantly the advantage. Tilly's army was diminished on his retreat to Wolmirstädt by great desertion; ever since the carnage of Magdeburg fortune had forsaken him; on the contrary, it had uninterruptedly attended the King of Sweden while he continued at Werben: all Mecklenburg, with the exception of a few places, was conquered by his general Tott, and the Duke Adolphus; and he enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing both princes reinstated in their dominions. He went to Güstrow, where the reinstatement took place, and by his presence augmented the solemnity of the installation. With their deliverer in the middle, and a splendid train of princes, both the Dukes made a solemn entry, which the joy of their subjects concluded in a sincere festival. Soon after the King's return to Werben, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel came to his camp, to conclude a close offensive and defensive alliance with him—the first sovereign primate in Ger-

many who openly declared against the Emperor but who was led to it by the most pressing motives. The Landgrave engaged to act against the King's enemies as his own, to give him the free use of his territory and towns, and to supply his army with provisions and every other necessary. In return for this, the King declared himself his friend and protector, and promised to conclude no peace without obtaining from the Emperor a full redress of grievances for the Landgrave. On both sides sincerity was observed. Hesse-Cassel adhered, during the whole of this tedious war, to the Swedish alliance; and had cause, at the peace of Westphalia, to boast of the Swedish friendship.

Tilly, from whom the bold step of the Landgrave was not long concealed, detached Count Fugger with some regiments against him, and at the same time endeavoured to excite his subjects to rebellion by inflammatory letters. His letters made as little impression as his regiments, which had in the sequel such bad success in the action of Breitenfeld; and the Hessian states could not for a moment balance between their oppressor and their protector.

But the Imperial general was much more occupied by the equivocal conduct of the Elector of Saxony, who, notwithstanding the Emperor's prohibition, continued his preparations, and adhered to the confederacy at Leipsic. At this conjunction, when the approach of the Swedish King rendered a decisive battle inevitable, it appeared a serious consideration to let the Elector remain in arms, which he could in a moment convert to the use of the enemy. Tilly had just

been reinforced by 25,000 veteran troops, commanded by Fürstenberg; and confident of his strength, he trusted, by the bare terror of his arrival, or at least with little trouble, to prevail upon the Elector to join him. Before he left his camp at Wolmirstaedt, he required the Elector, by a special embassy, to lay open his country to the Imperial troops, either to dismiss his own or join them to the Imperial army, and, in conjunction with it, to expel the King of Sweden from Germany. He at the same time put him in mind, that of all the countries in Germany, Saxony was that which had been most respected; and threatened him, in case of refusal, with the most destructive ravages.

Tilly had chosen for this imperative demand a period the most unfavourable. The persecution of his religion and his allies, the destruction of Magdeburg, and the ravages of the Imperialists in Lusatia, all contributed to incense the Elector against the Emperor. The approach of Gustavus Adolphus, however little pretension he had to this prince's protection, inspired him with courage. He accordingly forbade the quartering of Imperialists in his territories, and resolutely persisted in his warlike preparations. "However it must surprise him," added he, "to see the Imperial troops advancing towards his territories at a period when the King of Sweden afforded them sufficient occupation, he had no expectation of seeing his services requited but with ingratitude, and the ruin of his country." To Till's deputies, who were regaled in a princely manner, he gave a more decisive answer on their departure: "Gentlemen," said he, "I perceive the Saxon

"confectionary, which has been so long spared, is at length to be set upon the table. But as it is customary to accompany it with nuts and dishes of parade, be cautious that your teeth do not suffer on the occasion."

Immediately upon this Tilly broke up his camp, and amid the most dreadful devastation advanced towards Halle, while he renewed his demands on the Elector of Saxony in a more earnest and threatening tone. If we recollect the maxims hitherto observed by this prince, who by his own concessions and those of his minister, had promoted the interests of the Emperor, at the expense of the duties which were most sacred to him, and who had already been retained in inactivity with so little artifice, we must be amazed at the infatuation of the Emperor and his minister, who at this critical juncture opposed their true interests, and by violent measures incensed a prince who might otherwise, by lenient steps have been so easily attached to them. Was this the object of Tilly? Was it in order to convert a doubtful friend into an open enemy, and thereby to absolve himself from that clemency with which, by the Emperor's secret orders, he had treated the territories of that prince? Or was it the Emperor's intention to compel the Elector to embrace hostile measures, and to rid himself with a good grace from that understanding which he hitherto maintained with him? At all events, we cannot but be amazed at the haughtiness of Tilly, which could not refrain itself, in presence of a formidable enemy, from creating a new one, and the indifference of that general in permitting without opposition the union of both.

John George, rendered desperate by the entrance of Tilly into his territories, threw himself, not without a violent struggle, under the protection of Sweden.

Immediately upon dispatching Tilly's embassy, he sent Fieldmarshal Arnheim to the camp of Gustavus, to make a proffer of his alliance to that monarch, whom he had so long neglected. The King concealed the inward pleasure which this developement produced. "I am grieved," replied he coldly to the deputy, "for the Elector. Had he attended to my repeated remonstrances, his country would never have been invaded, and Magdeburg would still have remained uninjured. Now, when pressed by necessity, he has recourse to my assistance: but inform him that I am far from sacrificing myself and my allies for the Elector of Saxony. Who can pledge himself for the sincerity of a prince whose minister is in the pay of Austria, and who will abandon me so soon as the Emperor flatters him, and withdraws his troops from his dominions? Tilly has already considerably increased his army, but this shall not prevent me from meeting him when I have secured a retreat."

The Saxon minister could reply to these reproaches in no other terms than by promising to bury past transactions in oblivion. He pressed the King to declare the conditions upon which he came to the assistance of Saxony, and engaged previously their being granted: "I desire," answered Gustavus, "that the Elector shall deliver me his fortress of Wittenberg, and his eldest sons as hostages, three months pay for my troops, and that he shall deliver up the

"betrayer of his ministry: upon these conditions
"I am ready to afford him my aid."

"Not Wittenberg alone," answered the Elector, when he received this answer, and sent back the minister to the Swedish camp, "but Torgau and
"all Saxony shall be open to him; my whole
"family shall be his hostages; and if that is insufficient, I shall offer myself. Return, and inform him that I am ready to deliver him up such
"traitors as he names, to grant his army the
"desired payment, and to expose my life and
"fortune in a cause so just."

The King was only desirous of putting the new sentiments of John George to the test. Convinced of his sincerity; he retracted his severe demands. "The distrust," said he, "which was
"observed towards me when I advanced to the
"relief of Magdeburg, had naturally excited mine;
"the present reliance of the Elector demands a return. I am satisfied, provided he grants my
"army a month's pay, and promise to indemnify
"him for this grant."

Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, the King crossed the Elbe, and the next day joined the Saxons. Instead of opposing this junction, Tilly had advanced against Leispe, which he summoned to receive an Imperial garrison. In the hope of a sudden relief, the governor, Hans Pforta, had prepared for a defence, and laid the suburbs of Halle in ashes. But the ill condition of the works rendered all resistance vain; and on the second day the gates were opened. Tilly had taken up his abode in the house of a gravedigger, the only one which remained standing in the suburbs of Halle. Here he signed the capitulation.

lation, and was informed of the King of Sweden's immediate approach. Tilly grew pale at the representation of death's-heads and bones, with which the proprietor had decorated his house. Leipsic experienced a moderation which was unexpected.

Meanwhile a council of war was held between the Elector of Saxony and the king of Sweden, at Torgau, in presence of the Elector of Brandenburg. A resolution was now to take place which was irrevocably to decide the fate of Germany and the Protestant religion. The anxiety of the Elector, which naturally arose before every circumstance of importance, now appeared for a moment to overshadow the soul of Gustavus: "When we now resolve upon a battle," said he, "a crown and two electorates are at stake. Fortune is changeable, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven can give the victory to our enemies. It is true my crown would still have a refuge left, in case of the ruin of myself and army. Defended by a considerable fleet and a warlike people, they could still oppose the worst: but where, in case of defeat, can you hope for safety from an enemy which lies so contiguous?"

Gustavus Adolphus displayed the diffidence of a hero who did not overrate his strength in competition with that of his enemy; John George, the confidence of a weaker who felt a hero at his assistance. Impatient to free his country from two armies, he burned impatiently for a battle which might decide the contest. He was desirous, with his Saxons, to advance against Leipsic, and attack Tilly. At length Gustavus Adolphus adapted his measures, and determined upon a battle

with the enemy before the arrival of the reinforcements which the generals Altringer and Tiefenbach led to him. The united Swedish and Saxon armies crossed the Mulda, the Elector of Brandenburg returned homeward.

Early in the morning of the 7th of September the hostile armies came in view. Tilly resolved to await the arrival of his reinforcements, after he had in vain endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Saxon army with the Swedes, and had, near Leipsic, occupied a strong and advantageous position, in which he expected to avoid a battle. The impetuosity of Pappenheim induced him, upon the approach of the enemy's army, who were prepared to attack him, to change his position, and place his left towards the hill which leads from the village of Wahren to Lindenthal. At the foot of this eminence his army was extended in one line, his artillery divided upon the hill, whence it could sweep the extensive plain of Breitenfeld. The united Swedish and Saxon armies now advanced in two columns, which had to pass the Lober, and a village on Tilly's front. To prevent his passage of this rivulet, Pappenheim was detached at the head of 2000 cuirassiers, though after a long resistance of Tilly, and with express orders not to commence a battle. Notwithstanding these orders, Pappenheim encountered the vanguard of the Swedes, but after a short conflict was compelled to retreat. To interrupt the enemy, he set fire to Podelwitz, which, however, did not prevent the armies from closing and forming in order of battle.

The Swedes formed on the right upon two lines, the infantry in the centre, divided into

small battalions, which could be easily manoeuvred, without disturbing their order, and were adapted for the most rapid movements, the cavalry, placed on the wings, were also divided into small squadrons, and interspersed with bodies of musketeers, which would conceal the smallness of their numbers and annoy the enemy's horse. The centre was commanded by Colonel Teufel, the left by Gustavus Horn, the right by the King in person, opposite Count Pappenheim. The Saxons were formed at a considerable interval from the Swedes: a disposition of Gustavus which the sequel justified. The order of battle had originally been concerted between the Elector and his field-marshal, and had barely been laid before the King for his consent. He appeared anxious to deuide the Swedish prowess from the Saxons, and fortune dit not confound them.

Under the heights towards the west the enemy was extended in a long line, which was capable of outflanking the Swedish army, the infantry in great battalions, and the cavalry divided equally in unwieldy squadrons. His artillery was in his rear, on the heights, and he formed under its range. From such a position of the artillery, if this intelligence is to be credited, it must be concluded that Tilly's object was more to await than to attack the enemy, as this order rendered it impossible for him to break the enemy's ranks without exposing himself to the fire of his own cannon. Tilly himself commanded in the centre, upon the left Pappenheim, and upon the right Count Fürstenberg. The combined army of the Emperor and the League amounted on this day to between thirty-four and thirty-five thousand

men; that of the Swedes was nearly of a similar number.

But had a million of the human species been confronted with another, it could not have rendered this day more bloody, important, or decisive. It was for this battle that Gustavus Adolphus had crossed the Baltic, sought danger in distant countries, and exposed his life and his crown to capricious fortune. The two most consummate generals of the age, both hitherto invincible, were now, in a contest long avoided, to enter into a competition; one of them must leave his past renown upon the field of battle. All Germany beheld this day with fear and trembling; the cotemporary world awaited its event with anxiety, and posterity was either to praise or deplore it.

Tilly's usual intrepidity seemed to fail him upon this day; he had formed no regular plan to give the King battle, and displaying as little firmness to avoid it. Pappenheim had compelled him to an action contrary to his intentions; doubts, hitherto unfelt, combated in his breast, gloomy presentiments overcast his brow: the shade of Magdeburg seemed to hover over him.

A cannonade of two hours commenced the battle. The wind was westerly, and blew thick clouds of smoke and dust from newly ploughed fields against the Swedes. This compelled the King insensibly to wheel northwards; and the rapidity with which this movement was performed, did not give time to the enemy to prevent it.

At length Tilly left his eminence, and commenced his attack upon the Swedes; but to avoid the vehemence of their fire, he turned to the

right, and fell upon the Saxons with such impetuosity, that he threw their whole army into confusion; the Elector himself retired to Eilenburg. A few regiments still kept their ground, and by a manful resistance saved the honour of the Saxon name. Scarce was this confusion perceived, when the Croats began to plunder, and messengers were dispatched to Munich and Vienna with the tidings of victory.

In the mean time Tilly had vanquished the remainder of the Saxons, and fell with his veteran troops upon the left wing of the Swedes. To that wing, so soon as he perceived the disorder among the Saxons, the King had immediately detached three regiments to cover the flank, which was left exposed by the flight of his allies. Gustavus Horn, who commanded here, gave the enemy a spirited resistance, to which the infantry, divided among his squadrons of horse, not a little contributed. The enemy already appeared to relax in their efforts, when Gustavus Adolphus made his appearance to terminate the contest. The left wing of the Imperialists was routed, and the King's troops, which were not hitherto engaged, could be employed in any quarter; he accordingly wheeled with his left wing and main body to the left, and attacked the eminence where the enemy's artillery was placed. In a short time he was in possession of it, and the enemy felt the effect of their own cannon.

The fire of artillery on its flank, and the attack of the Swedes in its front, at length brought the hitherto invincible army into disorder. A sudden retreat was all that remained for Tilly; but

this retreat must be made in the midst of his enemy. The whole army fell into confusion, except four regiments of chosen veterans, who had hitherto been unaccustomed to fly before an enemy, and now determined not to begin the practice. With closed ranks they engaged in the midst of their enemies, and in the height of the combat gained a small thicket, where they opposed the Swedes until night, when their numbers were reduced to six hundred; with them fled the remainder of Tilly's army, and the battle was decided.

Amid the dead and wounded Gustavus Adolphus threw himself on his knees, and his first expression of joy for his victory was announced in a thanksgiving to Heaven. He ordered the enemy to be pursued, as far as the darkness of the night would permit, by his cavalry; the noise of alarm-bells put all the neighbouring villagers in motion, and proved fatal to such fugitives as fell into the hands of the incensed peasantry. The King encamped with his army between the field of battle and Leipsic, it being impossible for him to attack the town on the same night; seven thousand of the enemy lay dead upon the field, and more than five thousand were either wounded or prisoners; their whole camp, artillery, and more than a hundred standards, were taken. The Saxons had two thousand, and the Swedes not above seven hundred men missing. The defeat of the Austrians was so complete, that Tilly, upon his retreat to Halberstadt and Halle, could not collect above six hundred men, nor Pappenheim above fourteen hundred. So rapid was the ruin of this formidable army,

which had lately put Germany and Italy into consternation.

Tilly had to thank accident for his personal deliverance. Though exhausted by several wounds, he still refused to surrender himself prisoner to a Swedish captain of horse, who was on the point of killing him, when a pistol shot laid the latter upon the ground. But the vexation of outliving fame was far more painful to him than his danger and his wounds; and the losing the labour of his life in one day, was highly grievous. All his victories were now nothing after losing the one which was intended to crown them; nothing remained of his exploits but the execration of mankind which accompanied him. After this day, Tilly never recovered his wonted vivacity, and fortune returned to him no more; even his last consolation, revenge, was denied him by the express prohibition of his master, who ordered him no longer to risk a decisive battle.

To three mistakes are principally attributed the misfortune of this day: to have posted his artillery in the rear of his army upon the heights; to have afterwards abandoned those heights; and to have permitted the enemy, without interruption, to form in order of battle. And how quickly were all those mistakes taken advantage of by the calm presence of mind and superior genius of his adversary? Tilly fled to Halle and Halberstadt, and had scarcely time to have his wounds dressed before he hastened to reinforce himself with the Imperial garrisons in Lower Saxony.

The Elector of Saxony had not failed, after the danger was past, to appear in the Swedish camp. The King thanked him for advising him to a battle;

and John George, during the first transports occasioned by this friendly reception, promised Gustavus the dignity of King of the Romans. On the next day the King advanced towards Merseburg, which was abandoned by the Elector, in order to attack Leipsic; five thousand Imperialists which he met on his march, were partly cut down, and partly entered his service. Merseburg immediately surrendered; shortly after Halle was conquered, whither the Elector of Saxony, after the taking of Leipsic, betook himself to concert the future plan of operations.

The battle was gained, but a wise disposition could alone render it decisive. The Imperial army was totally routed, Saxony was freed from the enemy, and Tilly had retreated towards Brunswick. In order to pursue him, the war must be renewed in Lower Saxony, which had scarcely recovered from the late ravages. It was in consequence resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, which lay exposed as far as Vienna to the conqueror; on the right the territories of Catholic princes lay open, and upon the left the Emperor might be made to tremble in his capital. Both measures were chosen, and the question was, how each of them should be executed? Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of a victorious army, could find little resistance from Leipsic to Vienna, Prague and Presburg. Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and Hungary, were defenceless, and the Protestants in those countries were anxious for a change of affairs. Ferdinand was no longer secure in his residence; Vienna would open its gates upon the first attack; the Emperor lost his allies with the states which the King

detached from him, and he would have willingly concluded a peace with an enemy which was in the heart of his dominions. A conqueror would be flattered by this bold plan of operation, which might have justified the adoption of it; but Gustavus Adolphus, more a statesman than a conqueror, rejected it, because he had to attain a more important end, the issue of which he did not choose to trust either to valour or good fortune.

By marching towards Bohemia, Franconia and the Upper Rhine must be left to the Elector of Saxony. But Tilly had already begun, from the remains of his defeated army, the garrisons in Lower Saxony, and the reinforcements which he received, to reassemble a new force upon the Weser, with which it was not probable he would long delay to begin offensive operations. Against such an experienced general, an Arnheim could not be detached, of whose talents the battle of Leipsic had afforded but equivocal proofs; it was therefore of little consequence for the King to make rapid strides in Bohemia and Austria, if Tilly again became powerful in the Empire, and raised the courage of the Catholics by new victories, while he discouraged the Protestants; it was equally useless to him to subdue the enemy's hereditary dominions, while Tilly made conquests in the Empire. Could he hope to reduce to extremity an Emperor whom an insurrection of twelve years in Bohemia had not weakened, had not shook the firmness of that prince, or exhausted his resources, with which he now appeared more formidable than ever?

Less brilliant but better founded were the ad-

vantages which the King of Sweden could derive from an inroad into the territories of the League: his irruption here was decisive. At the same conjuncture the German princes were convened in a diet at Frankfort, concerning the edict of restitution, where Ferdinand exhausted all the arts of his cunning policy to persuade the intimidated Protestants to agree to a sudden peace. The approach of their protector could alone excite them to a firm opposition, and to reject the Emperor's proposal. Gustavus Adolphus could now hope, by the terror of his arms, to subdue the disunited princes, and by his victorious presence to detach the remainder from the Emperor's interests; in the centre of the Empire, he here destroyed the nerves of Imperial power, which could not subsist without the assistance of the League. Here, in the vicinity of France, he was enabled to watch that suspicious ally; and when his private wishes required of him to cultivate the friendship of the Catholic electors, he might render himself master of their fate by establishing, through a magnanimous treatment, a claim to their gratitude.

He accordingly began his march towards Franconia and the Rhine, and left the conquest of Bohemia to the Elector of Saxony.

BOOK III.

THE glorious victory of Gustavus Adolphus had effected a great change in the conduct of that monarch, and in the opinion which both his friends and his enemies entertained of him. He had confronted himself with the greatest general of the age, and by the force of his tactics and Swedish valour, conquered the Imperial troops, the best in Europe. From that instant he relied upon himself, and self-reliance has ever been the parent of great actions. Had not Alexander's impetuosity triumphed upon the Granicus, never had that conqueror overturned the Persian empire. Bolder and more dexterous measures were henceforward observed in the operations of the Swedish king; greater resolutions, even under unfavourable circumstances, more defiance towards his adversaries, greater mildness to his friends, and forbearance towards his enemies. His native courage was also augmented by his piety. He readily confounded his own cause with that of Heaven; and beheld in Tilly's defeat the work of Divine vengeance. His crown was now risked upon German ground, which had for centuries beheld no foreign enemy. The warlike disposition of its inhabitants, the vigilance of its numerous princes, the artful confederacy of its states, the multitude of its strong castles, and the course of its rivers, had hitherto restrained the ambition of its neighbours; and when attacked upon its extensive

frontier, it was still secured in its interior. At the most remote periods this Empire maintained the equivocal prerogative of being its own enemy, and of being secured against every foreign force. It was also the want of union among its members, and an intolerant zeal for religion, which now procured the Swedish conqueror an entrance into its territories. The bond of harmony was already dissolved, which had rendered this Empire hitherto invincible; and it was from Germany itself that Gustavus Adolphus acquired the power of subjugating it. With prudence equal to his courage, he seized the favourable moment; and equally expert in the cabinet as in the field, he employed the resources of a consummate policy with as much effect as the thunder of his cannon. Uninterrupted, he pursued his victory in Germany, without once losing sight of his own dominions.

The consternation of the Emperor, and of the Catholic League, could not exceed the astonishment of the Swedish allies at the King's unexpected good fortune. His exploits surpassed even the most ardent expectations. The formidable army which had checked his progress, set bounds to his ambition, and rendered him dependant upon his friends, was now annihilated. Single, and without a competitor, he appeared in the midst of Germany, nothing could stop his career, or interrupt his pretensions, were he, even in the intoxication of success, inclined to abuse his victory. If the Emperor's authority was formidable in the commencement, equal fears might now be entertained, from the impetuosity of a foreign conqueror; for the constitution of the Empire, and, from the zeal of a Protestant king,

for the Catholic church of Germany. The distrust and jealousy which had for some time subsided in the minds of several of the combined powers towards the Emperor was now rekindled, and scarcely had Gustavus Adolphus merited their confidence, when they began to oppose obstacles to his designs. He was obliged to purchase his victories amid a continual struggle with the artifice of his enemies and the jealousy of confederates; but his resolute courage and deep penetration overcame every obstruction. While, by the success of his arms, he excited the attention of his more powerful allies, France and Saxony, he raised the courage of the weaker states, and drew from them an open declaration of their sentiments. Those who fought in the same cause with Gustavus Adolphus formed greater expectations from the magnanimity of this great ally, who enriched them with the spoils of their enemies, protected them against oppression; and inconsiderable in themselves, they acquired a weight when united with the Swedish hero. This was the case with most of the free cities, and, above all, with the inferior Protestant states. It was by these means that the King was introduced into the heart of Germany, his rear was covered, his army was provided with necessaries, his troops were received into their fortresses, and their lives exposed in his battles. His prudent respect for the national pride, his amiable deportment, some brilliant acts of justice, and his regard for the laws, were so many fetters with which he attached to him the German Protestants, while the revolting barbarities of the Imperialists, the Spaniards, and troops of Lorraine, powerfully contributed to

place the forbearance of his own army in a favourable light.

If Gustavus Adolphus owed most of his progress to his own genius, it must not be denied that he was greatly favoured by the nature of circumstance and his good fortune. He had two great advantages upon his side, which gained him a decided superiority over his enemies. While he removed the theatre of the war to the territories of the League, joined to his army the recruits of those countries, enriched them with plunder, and appropriated to himself the revenues of such princes as had fled, he was enabled to prevent an effectual resistance upon the part of his enemies, and maintain an expensive war with little cost to himself. When, moreover, his opponents, the princes of the League, were divided among themselves, and acted without union, consequently without effect; when generals wanted authority, their troops obedience, and their scattered armies had no mutual dependance, while the leaders of the forces were in opposition to the statesman and the minister, both were united in Gustavus Adolphus, from whom all authority came, and upon whom the soldiers, eyes were turned. He was alone the soul of his party, the author of his plans, and the executor of them. By his means all the affairs of the Protestants acquired an union and harmony which was wanting altogether among their enemies. It was not then surprising, if, favoured by such advantages, at the head of such an army, endowed with such a genius and such consummate policy, Gustavus Adolphus was irresistible.

With the sword in one hand, and mercy in

the other, he now traversed the German territories, as conqueror and legislator, with as much rapidity as he could have done upon a tour of pleasure, the keys of every fortress are delivered to him as readily as to the native sovereign; no castle is longer inaccessible, no river stops his progress, and he often vanquished by the terror of his name. His standards are now seen flying along the Maine, the Lower Palatinate is delivered, and the Spaniards and the troops of Lorraine have fled over the Rhine and the Moselle. The Swedes and Hessians now entered with impetuosity the territories of Mentz, Bamberg, and Wirtzburg; and three fugitive bishops, at a distance from their sees, dearly suffered for their unfortunate attachment to the Emperor. The most culpable of all the princes, Maximilian the chief of the League, at length experienced, upon his own territories, the miseries which he had prepared for others. Neither the terrifying prospect of his allies, nor the friendly overtures of Gustavus, who amid, the career of his successes, made the most advantageous offers of peace, could overcome the obstinacy of this prince, even after the ruin of Tilly, who had hitherto protected that country as a guardian angel. Not only the banks of the Rhine, but those of the Lech and the Danube, now swarmed with Swedish warriors; retired into his strong castles, the defeated Elector abandoned to the enemy his defenceless states which had hitherto felt no foe, and where the violences practised by the Bavarians seemed to invite retaliation. Munich itself opened its gates to the invincible monarch; and the unfortunate Elector Palatine was enabled, for some short period, in the for-

saken residence of his adversary, to console himself for the loss of his kingdom.

At the same time that Gustavus Adolphus extended his conquests in the south of Germany, his allies and generals acquired similar triumphs in the other provinces. While he drove the enemy before him, Lower Saxony shook off the Austrian yoke, Meklenburg was abandoned, and on the borders of the Elbe and Weser the Austrians evacuated all their garrisons. The Landgrave William of Hesse Cassel rendered himself formidable in Westphalia, the Duke of Weimar in Thuringia, and the French in the electorate of Treves. On the eastward the whole kingdom of Bohemia was overrun by the Saxons; the Turks were already prepared to fall upon Hungary; and a dangerous insurrection was meditated in the heart of the Austrian territories. Inconsolable, did the Emperor look around, in expectation of receiving from the different courts of Europe the means of opposing the enemy; in vain did he call to his assistance the Spaniards, whom the bravery of the Flemings occupied within the Rhine; he made efforts equally fruitless to engage in his cause the Court of Rome and the whole Catholic church. The offended Pope sported, by some splendid processions and idle anathemas, with the embarrassment of Ferdinand; and instead of yielding the required assistance, only showed him Mantua laid waste.

The haughty despot was now aware of his insignificance; the ruin of his allies, with the departure of his friends, and the continual increase of danger, showed him the vanity of his projects. Surrounded by enemies on every side of

his extensive dominions; with the countries of the League, the ramparts were gone with which Austria had hitherto defended herself, and the horrors of war approached her unguarded frontiers. His most zealous confederates were now disarmed, and Maximilian of Bavaria, his firmest support, was scarce able to defend himself; his armies, diminished by repeated defeats and desertion were rendered spiritless, and imbibed a dismay which, by inspiring the terror of a defeat, already insured a victory over them. The danger had now gained its summit, and nothing except some extraordinary means could save the House of Austria from destruction. The most sensible want was that of a general, and the only one who was capable of re-establishing the former reputation of the Austrian arms had been, through jealousy, removed from the command. So low was the Emperor, however, reduced, that he even made humiliating offers to his offended servant, and proffered to him the power of which he had been shamefully deprived in a still more disgraceful manner. A new spirit now appeared to actuate the decayed body of Austria, and a rapid change of circumstances betrayed the able hand which guided it. To the absolute King of Sweden; a general equally absolute was now opposed, and one victorious hero was confronted with another; both armies renewed the dubious conflict, and the victory, so nearly in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus, must be again exposed to a severe trial. The contending forces encamped before Nuremberg, equally anxious for the event of a battle. The strength of all Germany appeared directed towards this point, and prepared

to bring the fate of a twelve years war to a decision. But this cloud was at once dispelled, and forsook Franconia only to hover with a more destructive effect upon the plains of Saxony. Near Lutzen fell the thunder which menaced Nuremberg; and the battle, already half lost, was purchased by the corpse of a sovereign. Fortune, which never hitherto neglected the career of the King of Sweden, favoured him at his death with the rare indulgence of being permitted to die in the full possession of his glory and unrivalled fame. It may be allowed us to doubt whether, with a longer life, he had merited the tears which Germany shed over his grave, or maintained the tribute which posterity yields the only just conqueror whom this world has produced. By the untimely end of this formidable leader, the ruin of his party was apprehended. But there is no human loss which is irreparable. Two great statesmen, Oxenstern in Germany, and Richelieu in France, undertook the conduct of the war upon the demise of the hero; and destiny still prolonged, for six years, the flames of war which hovered over the ashes of him who was no more.

I may here be permitted to follow Gustavus Adolphus in his victorious progress, and with a rapid view to relate it; and then, when the fortune of the Swedes is reduced to extremity by a series of disasters, and Austria, in the height of its pride, constrained to have recourse to the most desperate and humiliating expedients, to return with the thread of the narration to the Emperor.

The plan of future operations had no sooner been concerted between the King of Sweden and

the Elector of Saxony at Halle, in which it was decided that the latter should invade Bohemia, while the former entered the territories of the League; no sooner had an alliance taken place between the princes of Anhalt and Weimar, who prepared to conquer Magdeburg, than the King began his march towards the Empire. The Emperor was still formidable in the Empire; Imperial garrisons still opposed the Swedish progress in Franconia, Suabia, and the Palatinate, most of which must be overcome by force. On the Rhine he was awaited by the Spaniards, who had overrun the territories of the banished Elector Palatine, possessed themselves of all his strong places, and rendered the passage of the river difficult. On his rear was Tilly, who had already begun to assemble new strength; and in a short time that general was to be joined by the auxiliaries of Lorraine. In the bosom of every Papist, religious zeal presented him with an inveterate enemy; and yet his connexions with France did not leave him entirely at liberty to act against the Catholics. Gustavus Adolphus perceived those obstacles, and vanquished them; the strength of the Austrians lay scattered in different garrisons, and he was able to attack them with his united force. If the religious bigotry of the Catholics opposed him, together with the fear in which the weaker states were retained from apprehensions of Austria, he might rely upon the active support of the Protestants, alarmed by the thoughts of the Emperor's tyranny. The ravages of the Imperial and Spanish troops had powerfully aided him in those quarters; the ill-treated husbandman and citizen had long awaited a deliver-

er, and a change of condition appeared a desirable object to all. Emissaries were already dispatched to gain over the more considerable free cities, viz. Nuremberg and Frankfort, to the Swedish side; Erfurt was the first that lay upon the King's march, and which he could not leave unoccupied in his rear. A successful negotiation with the Protestant inhabitants procured him, without resistance, the entrance into the city and its citadel. Here, as in all other places which afterwards submitted to his arms, he exacted an oath of allegiance, and he secured its possession by a sufficient garrison. The command of an army which was destined to be raised in Thuringia, was given to his ally, William Duke of Weimar; he also entrusted his queen to the city of Erfurt, and promised to increase its privileges. The Swedish army now broke off in two columns through the forest of Thuringia, over Gotha and Arnstadt; rescued, during the march, the county of Henneberg from the hands of the Imperialists; and in three days they formed a junction at Koenigshofen, on the borders of Franconia.

Francis, Bishop of Wirtzburg, the most zealous enemy of the Protestants, and the most active member of the Catholic League, was also the first who felt the indignation of Gustavus Adolphus. A few threats were sufficient to obtain the Swedes possession of his fortress of Koenigshofen, and with it the key of the whole territory. Consternation upon this conquest seized all the Catholic states of the Empire; the bishops of Bamberg and Wirtzburg trembled in their residences; they already saw their sees tottering, their churches profaned, and their religion degra-

ded. The animosity and persecuting spirit of his enemies had represented the conduct of the King of Sweden and his troops in the most disadvantageous light, which neither the repeated assurances of the King, nor the most splendid examples of his clemency and patience, could efface, the people feared to suffer the same treatment, which in similar circumstances they would have shown to others. Many of the richest Catholics now fled to avoid the sanguinary fanaticism of the Swedes; the Bishop himself afforded the example to his subjects. In the midst of the persecuting zeal which his bigotry had kindled, he abandoned his dominions, and fled to Paris, in order to endeavour to excite the French ministry against the common enemy of the Catholic religion.

Meanwhile Gustavus Adolphus made a rapid progress amid the ecclesiastical territories. Abandoned by their garrisons, Schweinfurt, and soon after Wirtzburg, surrendered to him; but Marienberg he was obliged to gain by storm. In this place the enemy had collected a great quantity of provisions and warlike necessaries, which now fell into the hands of the Swedes; the King found a valuable prize in the library of the Jesuits, which he transported to Upsal, and his troops a still more agreeable one in the richly filled wine-vaults of the prelate: the Bishop had in seasonable time saved his treasure. The example of the capital was followed by the remainder of the country, and every place submitted to the Swedes. The King caused all the Bishop's subjects to swear him allegiance; and, in the absence of the legitimate sovereign; creat-

ed a regency, of whom half were composed of Protestants. In every Catholic place of which Gustavus Adolphus made himself the master, he established the Protestants in all the churches, but without retaliating upon the Papists the oppression which they practised upon the former; force was only used towards such as made resistance; the few violences which the soldiery, amid the blind rage of their first attacks, exercised, cannot be attributed to their humane leader. Such enemies as were peacefully disposed and defenceless, experienced a mild treatment; it was Gustavus Adolphus's most sacred principle to spare the blood of his enemies, as much as that of his own troops. Immediately upon his irruption into the bishopric of Wirtzburg, without regarding the treaties which the Bishop, in order to gain time, had pretended to enter into, he endeavoured to excite the general of the League to assist his country. That defeated commander had in the mean time collected the ruins of his army on the Weser; reinforced himself by the Imperial garrisons in Lower Saxony; and had formed a junction in Hesse Cassel with Fugger and Altringer, who commanded under him. At the head of a considerable force, Tilly burned with ardour to efface the stain of his first defeat by a splendid victory. In the camp of Fulda, where he had led his army, he made use of repeated arguments with the Duke of Bavaria to permit him to give battle to Gustavus Adolphus. But the League had, besides Tilly's, no second army to lose; and Maximilian was too cautious to expose the fortune of his party to the risk of another battle. With tears in his eyes, Tilly

received the commands of his superior, which enjoined him to inactivity. In this manner his march towards Franconia was delayed, and Gustavus Adolphus gained time to obtain possession of the whole territory. It was in vain that Tilly reinforced his army near Aschaffenburg with 12,000 troops of Lorrain, in order, with a superior force, to relieve Wirtzburg; both the town and citadel were already in the hands of the Swedes; and Maximilian of Bavaria was universally censured, perhaps not without cause, for having, by his scruples, occasioned the loss of the country. Obligated to avoid a battle, Tilly must now content himself with preventing the further advance of the enemy; but he could only recover a few places from the valour of the Swedes. After an ineffectual attempt to throw a reinforcement of troops into the town of Hanau, which was weakly garrisoned by the Imperialists, and the possession of which was of the utmost importance to the Swedes, he followed the mountain road, to defend the Palatinate against the approach of the King.

Tilly was not the sole enemy whom Gustavus Adolphus met in Franconia, and drove before him. Charles Duke of Lorrain, celebrated in the contemporary annals for his unsteadiness of character, his vain projects, and his misfortunes, ventured to raise his weak arm against the Swedish hero, in order to obtain from the Emperor Ferdinand the electoral dignity. Deaf to the rules of policy, this prince, obeying only the dictates of his boisterous ambition, exasperated France against him by having recourse to the Emperor's protection; and exposed in a strange

country, for a vain phantom, his dominions, which a French army overrun. Austria readily yielded to him the honour, like the other princes of the League, of hazarding his ruin for her sake. Intoxicated with vain hopes, this prince collected a force of 17,000 men, which he desired to lead in person against the Swedes. If these troops were deficient in discipline and bravery, they wanted not a splendid attire; and however saving they were of their martial prowess against the enemy, the more willing they were to display it towards the people, for whose defence they were arrived. A panic terror struck them upon the approach of the King's cavalry, and they were easily expelled from their cantonments in the territories of Wirtzburg; the defeat of a few regiments occasioned a universal rout among their troops, and the remainder hastened upon the other side of the Rhine, to avoid the effect of Swedish valour. Disgraced and ridiculed throughout all Germany; the Duke returned home, too fortunate in escaping the indignation of his conqueror, who had first beaten him in the field, and then justified his hostilities by a manifesto. It is related upon this occasion, that a peasant, in a village upon the Rhine, struck the Duke's horse with a whip as he was quickly passing; "*Haste, Sir*", said the peasant; "*you must make more speed in order to escape the great King of Sweden.*"

The unfortunate example of his neighbour had inspired the Bishop of Bamberg with more prudent resolutions. To prevent the plundering of his territories, he sent deputies to the King of Sweden with offers of a peace; but these were de-

signed only to gain time until the arrival of the troops which he expected to his assistance. Gustavus Adolphus, too magnanimous to suspect treachery, readily accepted the Bishop's offers, and mentioned the conditions upon which he was willing to save the territories of the latter from hostile treatment; he was the more disposed to act in this manner, as he did not wish to lose that time by conquering Bamberg, which he could better employ in prosecuting his designs upon the territories of the Rhine. The rapidity with which he executed those designs obtained him the supplies which the loss of time in pursuing a weak bishop in Franconia must have withheld from him. This cunning prelate neglected the treaty so soon as the danger was removed from his territories; scarce had Gustavus Adolphus departed, when he threw himself under the protection of Tilly, and readily received the Imperial troops into his fortresses, which he had previously offered to the Swedes. By this stratagem, however; he only delayed for a short period the ruin of his bishopric. A Swedish general who had been left in Franconia, undertook to chastise this perfidy; and the country, thus rendered the seat of war, was equally laid waste by friends and enemies.

The flight of the Imperialists, whose formidable presence had hitherto delayed the decision of the Franconian states, had prevented both the nobility and peasantry from showing themselves friendly disposed towards the humane conduct of the Swedish king. Nuremberg joyfully received him, and the Franconian nobles were gained by a flattering proclamation, in which the King condescended to justify his hostile entrance

into their territories. The fertility of Franconia, and the confidence with which the forbearance of the army inspired its inhabitants, produced abundance in the Swedish camp. The favour into which Gustavus Adolphus insinuated himself among the nobility of this circle, the admiration and regard which his exploits excited, even among his enemies, and the rich booty which the service of a victorious king held out, were not a little serviceable to him. Recruits flocked to his standard from all quarters.

The King had lost little or no time in subduing Franconia. Gustavus Horn, one of his best generals, was left to complete the conquest of this circle, and to preserve it with a force of 8000 men; he hastened himself with the main army, which had been augmented by the recruits of Franconia, towards the Rhine, in order to secure this frontier of the Empire against the Spaniards; to disarm the ecclesiastical Electors, and in those fertile countries to open new resources for the prosecution of the war. He followed the course of the Maine; Seligenstadt, Aschaffenburg, Steinheim, and all the country on both sides of this river, were subjected on his march; the Imperial garrisons seldom awaited, and never maintained their posts on his arrival. Some time previous, one of his colonels had been so fortunate as to take, by surprise, the town and citadel of Hanau, upon the preservation of which, Tilly had been so intent; and eager to be freed from the yoke of the Imperialists, the Count of that name immediately put himself under the protection of the Swedish monarch.

The King's attention was now turned towards

Frankfort, it being a settled maxim with him in his progress through Germany, ever to secure his rear by the friendship and possession of its principal cities. Frankfort was one of the first free cities which he had from Saxony endeavoured to prepare for his reception: and he now summoned it, by new deputies from Offenbach, to grant him a free passage. This city would have willingly preserved a neutral system between the Emperor and the King of Sweden, as, whatever party the inhabitants embraced, they had reason to be apprehensive for their privileges and commerce, they might feel the heavy weight of Imperial indignation if they hastily submitted to the King of Sweden, and the latter was afterwards unable to defend them against the Emperor's despotism. But the displeasure of an irresistible conqueror was much more to be feared while he was before their gates with a formidable army, and could punish their opposition by the loss of their commerce and prosperity. It was in vain that their deputies alleged, as an excuse, the danger which their fairs, their privileges, and, perhaps, their constitution, would incur, by drawing down upon themselves, through a declaration for Sweden, the Emperor's vengeance. Gustavus Adolphus expressed his astonishment that so important a concern as the liberties of the whole Empire could be postponed in consideration of their annual fairs; and that they could, for a moment, sacrifice the great cause of their country and religion for temporal motives. He resolutely added, that having found the keys of every fortress from those of the island of Rugen to the Maine, he would also know where to discover those of Frank-

fort; that the safety of Germany and the freedom of its church being the sole motive of his invasion, he could not, in consideration of the justice of his cause, suffer any interruption of his progress. He was aware the people of Frankfort only sought to amuse him, and was therefore resolved to obtain their assistance in earnest; the deputies who returned with this answer he closely followed at the head of his army, and awaited before Saxenhausen, in full order of battle, the decision of the town-council.

If this city hesitated to submit to Gustavus Adolphus, it arose merely from its apprehension of the Emperor; its own inclination not suffering their balancing, for a moment, between the liberator of Germany and its oppressor. The measures under which Gustavus Adolphus now compelled them to declare themselves, would lessen the guilt of their apostacy in the Emperor's eyes, and conceal a voluntary step under the mask of compulsion; the gates were opened for the King of Sweden, who led his army through this city in a magnificent procession, and in admirable order. A garrison of six hundred men was left in Saxenhausen*; the King, with the rest of his army, advanced the same evening before the town of Hoechst, in the territories of Mentz, and it surrendered to him before night.

While Gustavus Adolphus pursued his conquests upon the Maine, fortune crowned the efforts of his generals in the north of Germany. Rostock, Wismar, and Doemitz, the only strong places

* The suburb divided by the Maine from Frankfort.

Trans.

which the Imperialists still possessed in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, were taken by the lawful sovereign, the Duke John Albert, assisted by the Swedish general Achatius Tott. In vain did the Imperial general Wolf, Count of Mansfeld, endeavour to recover the Halberstadt territories, of which the Swedes had taken possession immediately after their victory at Breitenfeld; he was obliged to relinquish his undertaking, and abandon Magdeburg itself to the enemy. The Swedish general Banner, who, at the head of 8000 men, remained upon the Elbe, held that city closely blockaded, and defeated several Imperial regiments which were sent to its relief. The Count of Mansfeld defended it, however, with great resolution: but his garrison being too small to make a long resistance, he already began to reflect upon the conditions on which he should surrender the town, when Pappenheim arrived to his assistance, and occupied the besiegers in another quarter. Nevertheless, Magdeburg, or rather the miserable huts of which it now consisted, was afterwards voluntarily abandoned by the Imperialists, and immediately taken possession of by the Swedes.

The states of Lower Saxony ventured to recover themselves, after the successful undertakings of the King, from sloth, which the unfortunate Danish war had drawn upon them, through Wallenstein and Tilly. They assembled at Hamburg, where it was concerted to raise three regiments, with which it was expected they might be able to drive the Imperial garrisons from a country which they so much oppressed. The Bishop of Bremen, a relation of the King of Sweden, was not satisfied even with these measures, and as-

sembled troops of his own, but had the misfortune soon to be compelled to lay down his arms by an Imperial general, Gronsfeld. Even George Duke of Luneburg, though formerly colonel in the Emperor's service now embraced the cause of Gustavus Adolphus and raised some regiments for the service of that monarch, by which the Imperialists were occupied greatly to his advantage.

But a more important service was rendered the King by William Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, whose victorious arms made the greatest part of Westphalia and Lower Saxony, with the Bishopric of Fulda, and even the Electorate of Cologne, tremble. It was now remembered, that while the Landgrave came to Gustavus Adolphus's camp at Werben, two Imperial generals, Fugger and Altringer, had been detached by Tilly to Hesse Cassel, in order to chastise the first for his apostacy to the Emperor. But that prince had with manly courage resisted the enemy's arms; as well as his states bid defiance to Tilly's incendiary proclamations; and the battle of Leipsic soon delivered him from those ravages. He took advantage of their absense with as much courage as resolution; in a short time Vach, Minden, and Hoexter surrendered to him; and, alarmed by the rapidity of his progress, Fulda, Paderborn, and all the ecclesiastical territories which bordered upon Hesse Cassel. These states, terrified at his conquests, hastened by submission to disarm him, and redeemed themselves from plunder by the payment of considerable sums of money. After these fortunate undertakings, the Landgrave with his victorious army joined that of Gustavus Adolphus, and went in person to meet that monarch

at Frankfort, to concert with him the plan of their future operations.

A number of princes and foreign ambassadors had assembled in that city, to congratulate Gustavus Adolphus on his progress, and either court his alliance or appease his indignation. Among these was the unfortunate abdicated King of Bohemia, and Elector Palatine, Frederic V. who was arrived from Holland to join the army of his avenger and benefactor. Gustavus showed him the unprofitable honour of receiving him as a crowned head, and endeavoured, by a respectful attention, to soften the remembrance of his misfortunes. But great as the advantages were which Frederic promised himself from the good fortune of his protector, and whatever expectation he had built upon his justice and magnanimity, the hopes of that unfortunate prince's reinstatement were as distant as ever. The inactivity and contradictory politics of the Court of England had abated the zeal of Gustavus Adolphus, and a pride which he could not always command led him here to forget the glorious duties of an avenger of oppression, in which quality he had so loudly announced himself on his invasion of Germany*.

George Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt was compelled upon this occasion, by the terror of the King's approach, to submit to the latter. The

* A poor excuse, with the author's leave. The Swedish monarch might have known that Charles I. then engaged in a quarrel with the rebellious fanatics of Scotland, and his own Parliament in England, without troops or revenues, could not possibly interfere in foreign transactions. Besides, his assistance was not required while the Swedes made such a progress. *Trans.*

connexions of this suspicious prince with the Emperor, and his little zeal for the Protestant cause, were no secrets to the King; but the hatred of so contemptible an enemy could only excite his compassion, while his self-importance drew ridicule. As this Landgrave knew his own strength, and the political state of Germany, so little as to offer himself as mediator between both parties, Gustavus Adolphus, with humour, called him the *peace-maker*. When engaged at play, and he won from the Landgrave, he often said, "*The money afforded double satisfaction, as it was Imperial coin.*" The Landgrave was indebted for the King's lenity to his affinity with the Elector of Saxony, whom Gustavus Adolphus had reason to spare, and this monarch's contenting himself with the surrender of his fortress of Russelsheim, and promise of observing a strict neutrality during the war. The Counts of the Westerwald and the Wetterau also visited the King at Frankfort, in order to conclude an alliance with him, and offer their assistance against the Spaniards, which in the end was very favourable to his cause. The town of Frankfort had reason to boast of the King's presence, who upon this occasion, by his royal authority, took their commerce under his protection, and, by the most effectual measures, restored their fairs, which had greatly suffered during the war.

The Swedish army was now reinforced by 10,000 men, which William Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had led to the King's assistance. Gustavus Adolphus had already attacked Koenigstein; Costheim and Floersheim surrendered after a short resistance; he became master of the river

Maine, and boats were constructed with all possible expedition at Hoechst to transport the troops across the Rhine. These preparations filled the Elector of Mentz, Anselm Casimir, with consternation, and he could no longer entertain a doubt that they were intended against him. As a partisan of the Emperor, and one of the most active members of the League, he could expect no better treatment than his confederates, the Bishops of Wirtzburg and Bamberg, had already experienced. The situation of his territories upon the Rhine made the possession of them indispensable to the enemy; and besides, that beautiful country afforded invincible temptations to the necessitous army. But, too little acquainted with his own power and that of his opponent, the Elector flattered himself that he was in a condition to repel force by force, and, by the strength of his fortifications, to resist the Swedish valour. He ordered the works of his capital to be repaired with all possible expedition, provided it with every necessary to sustain a long siege, and received a reinforcement of 2000 Spaniards, commanded by Don Philip de Sylva. In order to prevent the approach of the Swedish vessels, he laid a boom across the mouth of the Maine, and also sunk large heaps of stones, and even vessels, in that quarter. He however, accompanied by the Bishop of Worms, fled with his most precious effects to Cologne, and abandoned both his capital and his territories to the rapacity of a tyrannical garrison. All these preparations, which betrayed less real courage than impotent insolence, did not prevent the Swedish army from advancing and making formidable preparations to

besiege the city. While a part of the troops entered the Rhinegau, cut in pieces all the Spaniards whom they found there, and raised contributions, another division laid the Catholic parts of the Westerwald and the Wetterau under contribution; the army had already encamped at Castel opposite Mentz, while Bernard Duke of Weimar, on the opposite side of the Rhine, took Ehrenfels and the Mouse Tower. Gustavus Adolphus had already taken measures to cross the Rhine, and block up Mentz upon the land side, when the progress of Tilly in Franconia suddenly recalled him from that siege, and obtained the Electorate a short repose.

The danger of the city of Nuremberg, which Tilly, during the absence of Gustavus Adolphus, had threatened with a siege, and the cruel fate of Magdeburg, had occasioned the King suddenly to retire from before Mentz. In order to avoid a second time the shame and the reproach of abandoning his confederates to a ferocious enemy, he hastened by rapid marches to relieve that important city; but on his arrival at Frankfort, hearing the spirited resistance of the inhabitants of Nuremberg, and the retreat of Tilly, he lost not a moment to prosecute his designs against Mentz. As he failed in an attempt to pass the Rhine at Castel under the cannon of that place, he now advanced upon the mountain road, seized every post of importance on his march, and made his appearance upon the banks of the Rhine a second time at Stockstadt, between Gernsheim and Oppenheim. The Spaniards had abandoned the mountain road, but endeavoured with obstinacy to defend the left bank of the river: they

had for this purpose, burned and sunk all the vessels in the neighbourhood, and stood in formidable force to contest with the King its passage. The King's impetuosity exposed him upon this occasion to great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. In order to reconnoiter the opposite border, he ventured in a small boat upon the river, but had just landed when a number of Spanish cavalry fell upon him, from which he only saved himself by a precipitate retreat. At length, with the assistance of some neighbouring fishermen, he succeeded in gaining a few boats, in which he caused Count Brahe to pass at the head of 300 Swedes. No sooner had these time to intrench themselves upon the opposite bank, than they were attacked by fourteen squadrons of Spanish dragoons and cuirassiers. Notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in point of number, Brahe defended himself with intrepidity, and gained time for the King in person to arrive to his assistance. The Spaniards at length retired with the loss of 600 men killed; some took refuge in Mentz, others in Oppenheim. A lion of marble, erected upon a high pillar, holding in his right claw a naked sword, and bearing on his head a casque, showed the traveller, so late as seventy years after this event, the spot where this immortal king passed the first river of Germany.

Immediately after this fortunate event, Gustavus Adolphus transported his artillery, with the greater part of his army, over the river, and besieged Oppenheim, which, after a desperate resistance, was, on the 8th of December 1631, taken by storm; 500 Spaniards, who had so

courageously defended the place, fell indiscriminately a sacrifice to the Swedish fury. The intelligence of Gustavus's passing the Rhine spread consternation among the Spaniards and the troops of Lorrain, who hoped upon the left bank of that river to avoid the vengeance of the Swedes. Flight was now become their only resource, and every untenable place was immediately evacuated by them. After a long train of outrages upon the inhabitants, the troops of Lorrain abandoned Worms, which before their departure they wantonly illtreated. The Spaniards hastened to shut themselves up in Frankenthal, where they hoped to be able to defy the victorious arms of Gustavus Adolphus.

The King now lost no time in prosecuting his designs against the city of Mentz into which the flower of the Spanish troops had thrown themselves. While he advanced against the town upon the left bank of the Rhine, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had approached it upon the right, and made himself master of several strong places on his march. The besieged Spaniards, though enclosed upon every side, displayed in the commencement great vigour and resolution, and a shower of bombs fell for several days into the Swedish camp, which cost the king a number of brave men. Notwithstanding the vigour of this resistance, the Swedes continually gained ground, and had advanced so close to the ditch, that they entertained serious thoughts of storming the place. The courage of the garrison now sunk; they justly trembled for the furious impetuosity of the Swedish soldiers, of which the citadel of Marienberg in Wirtzburg afforded so dismal and

recent an example; a dreadful fate awaited Mentz if taken by storm, and the enemy might easily consider himself as bound to retaliate the treatment of Magdeburg upon this rich and magnificent residence of a Catholic prince. In order rather to save the town than their own lives, the garrison capitulated the fourth day, and obtained from the magnanimity of the King a safe escort to Luxemburg: a considerable number of them, however, after the former example of others, entered the Swedish service.

On the 13th of December 1631, the King made his public entry into the conquered city, and took up his quarters in the electoral palace. Eighty cannon fell into his hands, and the inhabitants were obliged to redeem themselves from pillage by 80,000 florins. From this indulgence the Jews and clergy were excluded, who were obliged to purchase their own redemption with large sums; the Elector's library the King made a present of to his chancellor Oxenstierna, who intended to have had it transported to the seminary of Westeraes; but the vessel in which it was embarked for Sweden, foundered in the Baltic, and this irreparable treasure was lost.

After the loss of Mentz, fortune did not cease to persecute the Spaniards upon the Rhine. Shortly after the conquest of the latter city, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had taken Falkenstein and Reifenberg; Koenigstein surrendered to the Hessians; the Rhinegrave Otto Louis, one of the King's generals, had the good fortune to defeat nine Spanish squadrons, who advanced from Frankenthal in order to possess themselves of the most considerable towns upon the Rhine, from Boppard,

to Bacharach. After the taking of the fortress of Braunsfels, which the Counts of the Wetterau effected with the assistance of the Swedes, the Spaniards lost every place in that country, and could preserve but few towns in the Palatinate, except Frankenthal. Landau and Cronweissenburg openly declared for the Swedes, Spire offered to raise troops for the King, Mannheim was lost through the prudent measures of the young Duke Bernard of Weimar, and the negligence of its governor, who, for that misfortune, was tried before a council of war at Heidelberg, and beheaded.

The King had protracted the campaign until the depth of winter, and in all probability the severity of the season was what principally gave the Swedish soldiers the advantage over his enemy. But the troops, exhausted with fatigue, now required repose in winter-quarters, which Gustavus Adolphus, soon after the surrender of Mentz, granted them in its neighbourhood. He himself took advantage of this necessary cessation of his military operations to finish, with his chancellor, the affairs of his cabinet, to treat for a neutrality with some of his enemies, and to terminate a political dispute with an allied power, which his past conduct had occasioned. He chose the city of Mentz for his winter-quarters, and for the prosecution of his state matters, and betrayed towards this place a greater partiality than appeared consistent with either the interests of the German princes, or the intended shortness of his visit to the Empire. Not contented with having extremely well fortified the town, he erected upon the opposite angle which the Main forms

with the Rhine, a new citadel, which from its founder was named Gustavusburg, but which has been better known under the denomination of *Priest's Plunder*.

While Gustavus Adolphus rendered himself master of the Rhine, and threatened the neighbouring electorates with his victorious arms, his vigilant enemies made use of an artful stratagem at Paris and St. Germaine, to withdraw from him the support of France, and, if possible, to engage him in a war with that power. He had, by unexpectedly and suspiciously turning his arms towards the Rhine, surprised his allies, and enabled his enemies to inspire a distrust of his intentions. After he had subdued Wirtzburg and the greater part of Franconia, he could advance through Bamberg against Bavaria and Austria, and it was generally as naturally expected, that he would not delay to attack the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria in the centre of their power, and immediately terminate the war by the subjection of these his principal enemies. But, to the astonishment of all, Gustavus Adolphus relinquished the warlike career which mankind had traced out for him, and instead of turning his arms to the right, advanced to the left, in order to make the more feeble princes of the Rhine feel the effects of his power, while he gave his more important adversaries time to assemble new forces. Nothing but the expulsion of the Spaniards, in order to reinstate the unfortunate Elector Palatine, Frederic V. could make this strange step comprehensible, and the general belief of his intended reinstalment at first silenced the suspicion of his friends and the calumnies. But now

the Lower Palatinate was entirely cleared of its enemies, and Gustavus Adolphus continued to pursue new plans of conquest upon the Rhine, he even continued to retain the conquered Palatinate from its lawful sovereign. In vain did the English ambassador remind the conqueror of what equity required of him, and the duty which her solemn promise demanded of him as a man of honour, Gustavus Adolphus replied to those demands with bitter complaints of the inactivity of the English court, and made preparations to carry his arms next into Alsace, and even into Lorrain.

The distrust of the Swedish monarch new began loudly to declare itself, and the hatred of his enemies was active in spreading unfavourable reports of his intentions. Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII. had already taken alarm by the King's approach towards France, and the timidity of his master already gave credit to the conjecture which were uttered upon the occasion. At that period France was engaged in a civil war with its Protestant subjects, and it was feared, not without grounds, that the approach of a victorious king of the same religion might inspire them with new courage, and excite them to a more desperate resistance. This could even take place if Gustavus Adolphus was ever so removed from affording them encouragement, and from acting unfaithfully towards his ally the King of France. But the vindictive spirit of the Bishop of Wirtzburg, who sought to console himself for the loss of his dominions at the French court, the empoisoned rhetoric of the Jesuits, and the forward zeal of the Bavarian minister, represented a private understanding between the Hugonots and the King of

Sweden as undoubted, and found means to fill the timid disposition of Lewis with apprehensions. Not only chimerical politicians, but even a number of the Catholic religion in that kingdom, believed it; fanatic zealots already saw him prepared to pass the Alps with an army, and dethrone even Christ's vicegerent in Italy. Notwithstanding the ease with which these reports of themselves dropt so rapidly, however the tolerance and regular conduct of the King made these complaints ridiculous, it was not, however, to be denied, that his undertakings upon the Rhine gave a dangerous gloss to those calumnies, as if his arms were less directed against the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, than against the Catholic religion itself.

The universal clamour of discontent which the Jesuits raised in all the Catholic courts against the connexions of France with the enemies of its religion, at length prevailed upon Richelieu to embrace a decisive measure for the service of the Catholic world, and at the same time to separate France from the selfishness of the Catholic states of Germany. Convinced that the intentions of the King of Sweden, like his own, were directed to humiliate the House of Austria, he spared no efforts to persuade the princes of the League to consent to a perfect neutrality, on conditions that they renounced their alliance with the Emperor, and withdrew their troops from his army. In either determination of the princes Richelieu gained his ends. By their detaching themselves from the Austrian party, Ferdinand was exposed to the united arms of France and of Sweden upon every side; and Gustavus Adolphus, delivered from his

other enemies in Germany, could turn his whole force against the hereditary dominions of the Emperor: inevitable was then the ruin of the House of Austria, and Richelieu had gained his ends without hurting the Catholic religion. Much more dangerous were the consequences which awaited the princes of the League, if they once opposed a refusal, and persisted in their adherence to Austria. In that case France had justified its attachment to the Catholic religion before all Europe, and fulfilled its duty towards the church; the princes of the League would then appear the authors of the continual war which Germany was destined to wage; they alone, by their voluntary attachment to the Emperor, rendered abortive the measures of their protector, and drew their church into the utmost danger, while they exposed themselves to total ruin.

Richelieu followed this plan with the more zeal at a time when the repeated applications of the Elector of Bavaria for French aid caused him great embarrassment. We may recollect, that since the period at which this prince began to doubt the Emperor's sentiments, he had entered into a private league with France, by which means he thought to secure himself the Electorate Palatine, against any future alteration of conduct which the Emperor should embrace. So clearly as this treaty pointed out the enemy against whom it was directed, nevertheless did Maximilian now make a very arbitrary use of it, and did not hesitate to request from the French crown that assistance against the King of Sweden, which he had originally demanded against Austria. Embarrassed by this contradictory alliance between

two opposite powers, Richelieu had now only to endeavour to put an immediate stop to their hostilities; and as little inclined to sacrifice Bavaria, as he was prevented by his treaty with Sweden from assisting it, he zealously laboured to effect a neutrality as his only means of fulfilling his engagements with both. A single plenipotentiary, the Marquis of Breze, was for this purpose sent to the King of Sweden at Mentz, in order to learn his sentiments on this head, and obtain favourable conditions for the allied princes; but Gustavus Adolphus had as powerful motives to desire the contrary, as Lewis XIII. had to wish for this neutrality. Convinced by numberless proofs, that the hatred of the princes of the League towards the Protestant religion was invincible, their aversion to the foreign power of Sweden inextinguishable, and their attachment to the House of Austria irrevocable: he apprehended much less ill effects from their open hostility, than from a neutrality which stood so much in opposition to their inclinations; as he was further obliged to carry on the war in Germany at the expense of his enemies, he manifestly sustained great loss if he diminished their number without increasing that of his friends. It was therefore not surprising if Gustavus Adolphus betrayed little inclination of purchase the neutrality of the Catholic princes, at the expense of the advantages he had obtained already.

The condition upon which he offered to accede to the Elector of Bavaria's neutrality, were accordingly severe, and pursuant to those considerations. He required from the League a total neutrality, together with withdrawing their troops

from the Imperial army and all their conquests. He even demanded that the military force of the League should be diminished to a small number; that from all their territories the Imperial armies should be excluded, and assisted with neither men, provisions, nor ammunition. Hard as these conditions were, which the conqueror imposed upon the vanquished, the French mediator still flattered himself to be able to induce the Elector of Bavaria to accept them. In order to accommodate matters, Gustavus Adolphus was prevailed upon to consent to a fortnight's cessation of hostilities with the latter. But at the very period when this monarch was receiving repeated assurances from the French agent of the fortunate issue of the negotiation, an intercepted letter of the Imperial general Pappenheim in Westphalia, discovered the perfidy of that prince, who, by the negotiation, endeavoured to gain time to defend himself. Far removed from fettering his military operations by a treaty with Sweden, that artful prince profited by the inactivity of his enemies to make the more speedy preparations; the negotiation was consequently fruitless, and only served to increase the animosity between Sweden and Bavaria.

Tilly's augmented force, with which he threatened to overrun Franconia, pressingly called the King to that circle; but he must previously expel the Spaniards, who held in check his progress towards Germany and the Netherlands, from the Rhine. With this view Gustavus Adolphus had already offered a neutrality to the Elector of Treves, Philip of Zeltern, under condition that the fortress of Hermanstein should be delivered to him, and a free passage granted through Coblenz.

But unwillingly as the Elector beheld the Spaniards in his territories, the less disposed he was to commit his states to the suspicious protection of a heretic; as he was too weak to maintain, between two such powerful concurrents, his independence, he had recourse to the more powerful protection of France. Richelieu, with his usual policy, profited by the embarrassment of this prince to augment the power of France, and obtain an important ally upon the German frontier. A numerous French army was destined to protect the Electorate of Treves, and a French garrison was to be taken into the fortress Ehrenbreitstein. But the object for which the Elector ventured upon this bold step was not fulfilled, and the offended pride of Gustavus Adolphus was not appeased before he had obtained a free passage through the territories of Treves.

While these negotiations were carried on with France, the King's general had taken the remaining fortresses of the electorate of Mentz from the Spaniards; and Gustavus Adolphus, by the capture of Creuznach, had completed the subjugation of this territory. To protect these conquests, the chancellor Oxenstierna was left with a part of the forces upon the Rhine, while the great army under the King himself began its march against the enemy in Franconia.

The possession of this circle had already been disputed, with various success, between Tilly and the Swedish general Horn, whom the King had left behind with 8000 men, and the bishopric of Bamberg was in particular the scene of their ravages. After being called by his other designs to the Rhine, the King left the chastisement of

the Bishop to his general, whose activity justified the choice. In a short time the entire bishopric submitted to him, and the capital, abandoned by the Imperialists, yielded to the Swedes. The banished Bishop requested assistance, in the most pressing manner, from the Elector of Bavaria, who was at length persuaded to put an end to Tilly's inactivity. Having received orders from his master to reinstate this bishop, Tilly collected the troops which were scattered through the Upper Palatinate, and marched towards Bamberg with an army of 20,000 men. Gustavus Horn, resolutely determined to maintain his conquest, awaited his arrival behind the walls of Bamberg, but saw himself constrained to yield to Tilly's vanguard what he thought to be able to dispute with his whole army. A panic which seized his troops, and which no presence of mind upon the part of their general could remedy, opened the gates to the enemy; and it was with difficulty that the troops, baggage, and artillery, were saved. The reconquest of Bamberg was the fruit of this victory; but Tilly, with all his activity, was unable to reach the Swedish general, who retired in good order behind the Maine. The appearance of the King in Franconia, whom Gustavus Horn had joined with the remainder of his troops at Kitzingen, put a stop to Tilly's conquests, and compelled him to save himself by a rapid retreat.

The King made a general review of his troops at Aschaffenburg, whose number after his junction with Horn, Banner, and the Duke of Weimar, amounted to near 40,000 men. His progress in Franconia was uninterrupted; for Tilly,

unable to oppose so superior an enemy, had made a speedy retreat to the Danube. Bohemia and Moravia were now equally near the King, and in the uncertainty where this conqueror should direct his march, Maximilian could form no immediate resolution; the road which was now left open to Tilly must decide the King's choice, and the fate of both provinces. It was dangerous to leave Bavaria exposed in the face of so formidable an enemy, in order to cover the frontiers of Austria; it was equally dangerous, by the reception of Tilly; to invite an enemy's army into Bavaria, and make it the theatre of warlike operations. The cares of the sovereign finally overcame the statesman's scruples, and Tilly received orders, at all events, to cover the frontiers of Bavaria with his whole army.

Nuremberg received with triumphant joy the defender of the Protestant faith and of the German freedom, and the enthusiasm of the citizens expressed itself on his appearance in loud transports of admiration; Gustavus could not contain his astonishment to see himself in this city, situated in the centre of the German empire, where he never had expected to be able to penetrate: the elegant appearance of his person completed the impression which his heroic exploits had made, and the condescension with which he received the addresses of this free city, gained him in an instant the affection of all hearts. He now in person confirmed the treaty which he had concluded with its citizens upon the borders of the Baltic, and excited them to an active zeal and animosity against the common enemy. He then proceeded to the Danube, made his appearance before

the frontier-town of Donauwerth*, unexpected by the enemy. A numerous Bavarian garrison defended this place, and its governor, Rodolph Maximilian Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, in the beginning showed the most resolute determination to defend it until Tilly's arrival. But the impetuosity with which Gustavus Adolphus commenced the siege, soon compelled him to think of evacuating the place, which, however, he fortunately effected amidst a tremendous fire from the Swedish artillery.

The conquest of Donauwerth made the King master of the opposite side of the Danube, and the small river Lech now only separated him from Bavaria. The immediate danger of his territories aroused all the activity of Maximilian, and however easy he had made it for the enemy to approach Bavaria, he resolutely determined now to oppose their future progress. On the opposite side of the Lech, near the small town of Rain, Tilly occupied a strong position which surrounded by three rivers, bid defiance to all attack. All the bridges on the Lech were destroyed; and its whole course as far as Augsburg, defended by strong detachments, and the possession of that free city, which had long betrayed a disposition to follow the example of Frankfort and Nuremberg, was secured by a Bavarian garrison, and the disarming of the inhabitants. The Elector shut himself up with all the troops he could assemble in Tilly's camp, seemingly resolved to

* It was not far from this town that Prince Eugene and Marlborough afterwards obtained the great victory of Blenheim. *Trans.*

place all his hopes upon this post, and set bounds to the Swedish progress.

Gustavus Adolphus soon appeared opposite the Bavarian intrenchments, after he had reduced all the territories of Augsburg, upon the hither side of the Lech, and had opened his troops a communication with that neighbourhood. It was now the month of March, when the river, swelled to an uncommon height by the great rains, and the melting snows of the mountains of Tyrol, flowed with great rapidity between steep banks. Its stream threatened the rash assailant with a certain grave, and on the opposite side the enemy's cannon promised a murderous reception if he defied the fury of both the fire and the waters; and if he even passed the river, a fresh and vigorous enemy awaited his exhausted troops in an inaccessible camp; and instead of the refreshment so much required, his wearied force must attack the enemy's intrenchments, whose streight seemed to defy every power. A defeat sustained upon this river must lead the Swedes to inevitable ruin, since the same stream which set bounds to their victory, also cut off their retreat if fortune should abandon them.

The Swedish council of war which the King assembled upon this occasion, represented all these circumstances in their full force, to deter him from so dangerous an undertaking. The most intrepid were alarmed for the consequences, and a respectable warrior, grown gray under arms, did not hesitate to express his doubts. But the King's resolution was fixed. "How," said he to Gustavus Horn, who spoke for the rest, "what! what! after passing the Baltic, and so many

"rivers in Germany, shall we be stopped by so miserable a stream as the Lech?" He had already with great danger reconnoitred the position, and discovered that the hither side of the river was evidently more elevated than the other, by which the fire of the Swedish artillery must have the superiority over that of the enemy. With great presence of mind he profited by this circumstance. He immediately placed three batteries where the left bank of the Lech forms an angle opposite its right, and commenced a cross fire upon the enemy from seventy two pieces of cannon. While this tremendous fire drove the Bavarians from the opposite borders, he instantly formed a bridge over the river. A thick smoke, kept up by burning wood and wet straw; concealed this operation from the enemy, while the continued thunder of artillery and the noise of axes prevented them from hearing it. He encouraged his troops by his own animating example, and himself discharged above sixty cannon. This fire was returned for two hours with equal vivacity by the Bavarians, though with less effect, as the Swedish batteries were higher situated, and served as a breastwork. It was in vain the Bavarians endeavoured to demolish the enemy's works from the opposite side; the superior fire of the Swedes put them into disorder, and they were compelled to be spectators of the finishing of the bridge. Tilly, upon this dreadful day, did the utmost to encourage his troops, and no danger could retain him from the banks of the river. At length he found the death which he sought: a cannonball shattered his leg, and his brave associate Altringer was soon after dange-

rously wounded in the head. Deprived of the encouraging presence of these two generals, the Bavarians fled, and Maximilian himself was, contrary to his wishes, led to a pusillanimous measure. Overcome by the persuasions of the dying Tilly, whose wonted resolution was overpowered by the near approach of death, he abandoned his inaccessible position; and a ford discovered by the Swedes, over which their cavalry prepared to pass, hastened his retreat. The same night, and before the Swedes had passed the Lech, he broke up his camp, and, without giving the King time to disturb his retreat, withdrew in the best order to Neuburg and Ingolstadt. With astonishment Gustavus Adolphus the next day saw his passage completed, the enemy's camp abandoned; and the Elector's flight excited his surprise more than the strength of his position. "Were I the Bavarian," cried he, "never, even though a cannon-ball had carried away my head and chin, never would I have abandoned a position such as this, and laid open my territories to the enemy."

Bavaria now lay exposed, and its territories, long spared, for the first time were subject to the ravages of war. Before, however, the King proceeded to the conquest of the enemy's country, he rescued the free city of Augsburg from the Bavarian yoke, took the citizens under his protection, and secured their fidelity by a garrison which he left; he soon after advanced by rapid marches against Ingolstadt, in order, by the capture of this important fortress, which the Elector covered with a great part of his army, to

secure his conquests in Bavaria, and obtain a firm footing upon the Danube.

Shortly before his arrival in Ingolstadt had Tilly terminated his career within the walls of that city, after having experienced the utmost reverses of fortune: conquered by the superior generalship of Gustavus Adolphus, he lost, at the close of his days, the laurels of his earlier victories, and satisfied, by a chain of misfortunes, the justice of fate, and the avenging ghosts of Magdeburg. In him the Imperial army and that of the League sustained an irreparable loss, the Catholic religion was deprived of one of its most zealous defenders, and Maximilian of Bavaria of the most faithful of his servants, who sealed his fidelity by his death, and even performed the duty of a general in his dying moments. His last advice to the Elector was, to take possession of Ratisbon, in order to maintain the Danube, and keep open the communication with Bohemia.

With that confidence which so many victories naturally inspired, Gustavus Adolphus undertook to besiege Ingolstadt, and expected, by the impetuosity of his first attack, to conquer all resistance. But the strength of its works, and the bravery of its garrison, presented obstacles to him, which since the battle of Breitenfeld he had not met with; and a period was nearly put to his career before the walls of this city. A twenty-four pounder killed his horse while he reconnoitred the place, but the King speedily recovered, and quieted the alarms of his terrified troops by mounting another; and soon after his favourite, the young Margrave of Baden, was shot by his side. This warning of his evil genius

was, however, disregarded, and that inevitable death awaited him upon the plains of Lutzen, of which Ingolstadt's walls had presented to him the image.

The possession of Ratisbon by the Bavarians, who, according to Tilly's advice, had surprised this free city by stratagem, and threw into it a strong garrison, quickly changed the King's plan of operations. He had flattered himself with the hope of gaining possession of that Protestant city, and of finding in it an ally equally devoted to him with Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Frankfurt. The subjection of it to the Bavarians delayed for a considerable time his favourite project of making himself master of the Danube, and cutting off the enemy's communication with Bohemia. He suddenly raised the siege of Ingolstadt; before which he wasted both his time and the lives of his men; and penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, in order, by confining the Elector to the defence of his own territories, to strip the Danube of its protectors.

The whole country as far as Munich lay open to the conqueror: Mosburg, Landshut, and the entire chapter of Freysingen, submitted to him: nothing could resist his arms. But if he met with no regular enemy, fanaticism presented him with a much more inveterate one in the bosom of every Bavarian. Soldiers who did not believe the Pope's infallibility were a new spectacle in this country. The blind zeal of the priests had represented them to the people as monsters, children of hell, and their leader as the antichrist. It is not then surprising if the inhabitants dispensed with every rule of nature and humanity against

this brood of Satan, and thought themselves justified in the most violent actions. Woe be to the Swedish soldier who singly fell into the hands of these barbarians! All the torments which a bigotted zeal could devise were executed upon these unhappy victims, and the aspect of their mangled bodies exasperated the army to exercise a dreadful retaliation. Gustavus Adolphus alone scorned, by any act of revenge, to tarrish the lustre of his character; and the distrust of the Bavarians towards his religion, far from making him depart from the rules of humanity towards the unfortunate people, imposed it on him rather as a sacred duty to honour his religion by the greater clemency.

The King's approach spread terror and consternation in the capital, which stripped of its defenders and forsaken by its most distinguished inhabitants, sought its safety from the conqueror's magnanimity. By a unconditional and voluntary surrender it hoped to disarm his vengeance, and already sent deputies to Freysingen, to lay at his feet the keys of the city. However the King might naturally have been led, from the inhumanity of the Bavarians, and the hostile intention of their sovereign, to abuse his victory; however pressed even by Germans to retaliate Magdeburg's fate upon the residence of its author; his great soul scorned a mean revenge; and the defenceless state of the enemy disarmed his indignation. Contented with the more noble triumph of leading the Elector Palatine, Frederic, in victorious pomp into the very residence of the prince who was the original instrument of his ruin, and the usurper of his states, he heightened the mag-

nificence of his entry by the superior splendour of his clemency and goodness.

The King found in Munich only a forsaken palace, as the Elector's treasures had been transported to Werfen. The magnificence of the building astonished him, and he asked the guide who showed the apartments the name of the architect. "It is no other," answered the man, "than the Elector himself."—"I would willingly have this architect to send to Stockholm," replied the King. "That the architect will carefully prevent," answered the other. When the arsenal was examined, the carriages were found stripped of their cannon. The latter were so artfully concealed under the floor, that no traces of them remained, and without the discovery of an artificer the deceit had not been found out. "Stand up from death," cried the King, "and come to light." The floor was searched, and 150 pieces were discovered, some of extraordinary calibre, which had been principally taken in the Palatinate and Bohemia. A treasure of 30,000 gold ducats, found in one of the large cannon, completed the pleasure which the King received on this occasion.

But a more pleasing spectacle he would have received from the Bavarian army, to attack which in their intrenchments he had penetrated so far into the country. In this expectation the King was, however, disappointed. No enemy appeared, and the Elector could not be persuaded by the most pressing instances of his people to hazard the remainder of his army in the field of battle. Shut up in Ratisbon, he awaited the reinforcements which Wallenstein was leading

from Bohemia, and in the mean time endeavoured, by a renewal of his system of neutrality, to retain his enemy from active measures. But the King's distrust, so often excited, frustrated this design, and the premeditated delay of Wallenstein abandoned the Bavarians to the fury of the Swedes.

Thus far had Gustavus Adolphus advanced from one victory to another, and from conquest to conquest, without finding an enemy capable of checking his progress. A part of Bavaria and Suabia, the bishoprics of Franconia, the Lower Palatinate, and the electorate of Mentz, lay conquered in his rear. An uninterrupted good fortune had attended him to the borders of the Austrian monarchy, and a splendid success had justified the plan of operations which he had formed immediately upon obtaining the victory at Breitenfeld. If he had not succeeded according to his desires, in promoting a confederacy among the Protestant states, he had either disarmed or weakened the Catholic League, carried on the war principally at its expense, diminished the Emperor's resources, strengthened the resolution of the weaker states, and, by laying under contribution the Imperial allies, found a way to the heart of Austria. Where he could not use the force of arms, the utmost service was rendered him by the free cities, whose affections he had gained by the double ties of religion and policy; and so long as he maintained a superiority in the field he might form every expectation from their zeal. By means of his conquests upon the Rhine, the Spaniards were cut off from the Lower Palatinate, should the war in the Nether-

lands even leave them sufficient strength to interfere in that of Germany; even the Duke of Lorraine embraced a neutrality at the end of this unfortunate campaign. After so many garrisons left behind him during his progress through Germany, his army was not diminished; and fresh as when he began his march, he now stood in the centre of Bavaria, determined and prepared to penetrate into the interior of Austria.

While Gustavus Adolphus maintained the war with such superiority in Germany, fortune was no less favourable to his ally, the Elector of Saxony, in another quarter. We may remember, that at the interview held between both these princes at Halle, after the battle of Leipsic, the conquest of Bohemia fell to the Elector of Saxony, while it was determined the King should advance against the territories of the League. The first fruit which the Elector reaped from the victory at Breitenfeld was the reconquest of Leipsic, which was followed by the expulsion of the Austrian troops from the entire circle. Reinforced by the deserters which flocked to him from the enemy's standard, the Saxon general, Arnheim, directed his march to Lusatia, which an Imperial general, Rodolph Tiefenbach, had overrun, in order to chastise the Elector for his embracing the King's cause. He had already commenced, in this badly defended province, the usual ravages, conquered several towns, and terrified Dresden itself by his approach. But his progress was suddenly checked by an order of the Emperor to spare Saxony.

Ferdinand too late, remembered the defective politics which had led him to reduce the Elector of Saxony to extremity, and enable the King of

Sweden to compel this powerful prince to an alliance. The sacrifice which he had made by an untimely haughtiness he now wished to recover by an equally ill-timed moderation, and committed a second fault while he sought to remedy the first. To deprive his enemy of so great an ally, he renewed, through the interference of Spain, his negotiations with the Elector; and to facilitate the preliminaries, Tiefenbach was ordered to evacuate the territories of Saxony. But this consideration, on the part of the Emperor, so far from producing the desired effect, rather discovered his embarrassment to the Elector, who, sensible of his own importance, was the more encouraged to prosecute the advantages which he had already obtained. How could he also, without rendering himself contemptible by his ingratitude, forsake an ally to whom he had given the most sacred promises of fidelity, and to whom he was indebted for the preservation of his states, and his very electorate?

The Saxon army in Lusatia advanced into Bohemia, where a train of favourable circumstances seemed to ensure them victory. The flames of insurrection still concealed themselves under the ashes in that kingdom, the first theatre of this destructive war; and the discontent of the nation was augmented by continual oppression. On every side that unfortunate country betrayed evident marks of the most melancholy alteration. Entire estates had changed their proprietors, and groaned under the yoke of Catholic masters, whom the favour of the Emperor and of the Jesuits had enriched with the plunder of the expelled Protestants. Others had taken advantage of

the public calamity, to purchase the confiscated estates for a small consideration. The blood of the principal defenders of liberty was shed upon the scaffold, and such as avoided that fate by a timely flight wandered far from their native country in misery, while the obsequious slaves of despotism enjoyed their patrimony. Still more insupportable than the oppression of these petty tyrants was the restraint of conscience which they imposed upon all the Protestants of the kingdom. No exterior danger, no opposition ever so violent on the part of the nation, no example from past experience, could deter the Jesuits from their rage for making proselytes: where fair means were ineffectual, military force was employed to bring people within the pale of the church. These violences were chiefly practised against the inhabitants of Joachimsthal, in the frontier mountains, between Bohemia and Meissen. Two Imperial commissaries, accompanied by as many Jesuits, and fifteen musketeers, repaired to this peaceful valley to preach the evangelist of heretics. Where the rhetoric of the former was ineffectual, recourse was had to the latter, and by forcibly quartering them upon the houses, by threats of banishment and fines, it was endeavoured to seduce. But on this occasion the good cause prevailed; and the vigorous resistance of this small people obliged the Emperor disgracefully to withdraw his mandate of conversion. The example of the court afforded the Catholics of the kingdom a pattern for their conduct, and justified every sort of oppression which they used towards the Protestants. It was then not surprising if this persecuted party sought a change of condition, and saw with plea-

sure the appearance of their deliverers upon the frontiers.

The Saxon army was already upon its march towards Prague. The Imperial garrisons every where retired before them. Schloekenau, Tetschen, Aussig, and Leitmeritz speedily fell into their hands, and every Catholic place was abandoned to plunder. Consternation seized all the Papists of the kingdom, and, conscious of their ill treatment of the Protestants, they were terrified on the approach of a Protestant army. All the Catholics of distinction hastily fled from the country to the capital, which they as quickly abandoned. Prague itself was prepared for no attack, and was too weakly garrisoned to sustain a long siege. The Emperor, too late, resolved to call Field-marshal Tiesenbach to the defence of this capital. Before the Imperial orders could reach the head-quarters of this general in Silesia, the Saxons were already advanced near Prague, whose Protestant inhabitants promised little zeal, and whose weak garrison gave room to hope for no long resistance. In this dreadful embarrassment the Catholic inhabitants looked up to Wallenstein for their security, who now lived in Prague as a private man. But far from applying his military talents and the weight of his influence towards the preservation of the city, he rather seized the favourable moment to satiate his vengeance. If he did not immediately invite the Saxons to Prague, it was at least his conduct which facilitated its capture. Though unprepared for a long resistance, it was, nevertheless, able to defend itself until the arrival of succour: and an Imperial colonel, Count Maradas, showed a

serious intention of undertaking its defence. But left without support, and having nothing to depend upon but his own courage, he durst not venture upon it without the consent of a superior: he therefore consulted Wallenstein, whose approbation might supply the place of Imperial authority; and to whom the Bohemian generals were referred in this last extremity. But he artfully adhered to his inactivity, and to his retreat from all political concerns, and thereby discouraged all the subalterns from acting. To complete the consternation, he abandoned the capital, with his whole court, however little he had to fear from the enemy on its capture: and it immediately surrendered in consequence of his departure. His example was followed by all the Catholic nobility, the generals at the head of the troops, the clergy, and all the officers of the crown: the people were employed the whole night in saving their persons and effects: all the roads to Vienna were filled with the fugitives, who did not recover from their consternation until their arrival in the Imperial residence. Maradas himself, ready to embrace the most desperate expedients for the delivery of Prague, followed the rest, and led his small detachment to Tabor, where he awaited the event.

Profound silence reigned in Prague as the Saxons the next morning appeared before it; no measures were taken for its defence; not a shot was fired from the walls, which could announce the resistance of the Bohemians. A crowd of spectators, on the contrary, led by curiosity from the city, repaired to behold the enemy's army; and the peaceful confidence with which they ap-

proached, resembled rather a friendly welcome than a hostile reception. From the general report of those people it was known that the city was evacuated, and the regency fled to Budweiss. This unexpected and inexplicable want of defence excited Arnheim's distrust the more, as the speedy relief from Silesia was no secret to him, and the Saxon army was too little prepared for undertaking a regular siege, and not sufficiently numerous to take the place by storm. Apprehensive of stratagem, he redoubled his caution; and he persevered in this opinion until Wallenstein's house-steward, whom he discovered among the crowd, confirmed him in the intelligence. "The city is ours without a blow," he now cried to his officers, and immediately summoned it by a trumpeter.

The citizens of Prague, disgracefully abandoned by their defenders, had long resolved upon this measure, and they only required as a condition, the security of their liberty and property. When this was agreed to on the part of the Saxon general in his master's name, they opened their gates without resistance, and his army made their triumphal entry upon the 11th of November 1631. The Elector soon after followed, in order to receive in person the homage of those whom he newly took under his protection; for it was only under this title that the three towns of Prague had surrendered to him: this step was not to withdraw their allegiance from the House of Austria. The fears of reprisal which the Papists entertained, were the more agreeable surprised by the Elector's clemency and strict discipline of his troops; Fieldmarshal Arnheim, in particular,

displayed upon this occasion his consideration towards Wallenstein; not satisfied with having spared the estates of the latter in his march hither, he now placed guards upon his palace, to prevent any violence. The Catholic citizens obtained the fullest liberty of conscience, and were only deprived of four of the churches which they had taken from the Protestants. The Jesuits alone, to whom were attributed all former acts of oppression, were excluded from this indulgence, and banished the kingdom.

John George did not bely the subaltern pusillanimity and dependance with which the Emperor's name inspired him; and did not permit himself to pursue in Prague a conduct which would certainly be retaliated upon a future occasion in Dresden by Imperial generals such as Tilly and Wallenstein. He cautiously distinguished the enemy with which he waged war, from the head of the Empire, whom he could respect; he did not venture to touch the house-furniture of the latter, while he appropriated to himself, without scruple, the cannon of the former, and transported them to Dresden. He did not take up his residence in the Imperial palace, but in the house of Lichtenstein, and preserved the private apartments of one whom he had deprived of a kingdom. The character of such a prince makes us doubtful whether to attribute this moderation to the selfcommand of discretion, or pity the weakness of a mind which good fortune itself could not inspire with boldness, and even liberty could not strip of its fetters.

The taking of Prague, which was soon followed by that of most of the other towns, operated

a speedy change in the affairs of the kingdom. Many of the Protestant nobility, who had wandered about in miseries, now returned to their native country; and Count Thurn, the notorious author of Bohemian insurrection, survived the triumph of beholding himself a conqueror upon the former theatre of his crime and condemnation. Over the bridge where the exposed heads of his followers terrified him by a prospect of his own fate, he now made his triumphal entry, and his first care was to remove those objects of dismay; the exiles were reinstated in their properties, whose present proprietors had fled the kingdom. Disregarding the price at which estates had been purchased, even though they themselves had received the payment, they seized upon every thing which had once belonged to them, and many found cause to boast of the economy of their late possessors. The land and cattle had improved under the second proprietors; the apartments were decorated with the richest furniture, the cellars which they left empty were plentifully filled, their stables inhabited, and their houses provided with the necessaries of life. But distrustful of the fortune which so unexpectedly surprised them, they hastened to disencumber themselves of their uncertain possessions, and convert their immoveable into transferable property.

The appearance of the Saxons inspired all the Protestants of the kingdom with courage; and both in the country and in the capital, crowds repaired to the newly opened Protestant churches. Many whose adherence to popery was retained only by fear, now professed the new doctrine, and a number of converted Catholics with joy

renounced a coercive persuasion in order to follow the more early conviction of their conscience. All the inodoration of the new regency could not contain the just displeasure which an ill-treated people now manifested to the oppressors of their consciences; their recovered rights were used in a violent manner, and in many places their hatred of the religion lately imposed upon them was only satiated with the blood of its adherents.

Meanwhile the succour which the Imperial generals Goetz and Tiefenbach conducted from Sillesia had entered Bohemia, and were joined by some of Tilly's regiments from the Upper Palatinate. In order to disperse them before they could be augmented, Arnheim advanced with part of the army, and made an impetuous attack upon their intrenchments at Limburg on the Elbe. After a severe action he at length beat the enemy from their strong camp, not, however, without sustaining considerable loss, and compelled them, by the vehemence of his fire, to retire over the Elbe, and destroy the bridge which they had formed upon that river; but he could not prevent the Imperialists from making reprisals, nor the Croats from pursuing their ravages as far as the gates of Prague. However splendid and promising the appearances were under which the Saxons opened the campaign in Bohemia, the issue by no means fulfilled the expectations of Gustavus Adolphus. Instead of vigorously pursuing the advantages obtained, and forcing a passage through Bohemia, now conquered, to the Swedish army, and in conjunction with it to attack the Imperial power in its centre, they weakened themselves in a war of skirmishes with the enemy, in which

they were not always successful, and their time for more important operations was lost. But John George's subsequent conduct betrayed the motives which deterred him from prosecuting his advantages against the Emperor, and from promoting the King of Sweden's designs by vigorous measures.

The Emperor had now lost the greater part of Bohemia, and the Saxons were advancing against Austria, while the Swedish monarch opened himself a passage to the Imperial hereditary states through Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria. A long war had exhausted the strength of the Austrian monarchy, ruined the country, and diminished its armies; the renown of its victories was now no more, as well as reliance upon the invincibleness, obedience, and discipline of the troops over whom the Swedish conqueror had obtained so decisive a superiority in the field. The Emperor's allies were either disarmed, or their fidelity shaken by the approach of danger; even Maximilian of Bavaria, Austria's most powerful support, appeared inclined to yield to the enticing measures of neutrality; the suspicious alliance of that prince with France had already filled the Emperor with apprehensions. The Bishops of Wirtzburg and Bamberg, with the Elector of Mentz, and the Duke of Lorraine, were either driven from their dominions, or threatened with danger. Treves was upon the point of throwing itself under the protection of France; the Spanish armies were closely engaged by the bravery of the Dutch in the Netherlands, while Gustavus Adolphus drove them back from the Rhine, and Poland was retained by its neutrality.

The borders of Hungary were threatened by the Transilvanian Prince Rogotzy, the successor of Bethlen Gabor, and the inheritor of his unquiet spirit; the Porte itself prepared to take advantage of the favourable moment. Most of the Protestant states, emboldened by the successes of their benefactor, had taken an active part against the Emperor; all the resources which the effrontery of Tilly and Wallenstein had obtained by oppressive contributions in these territories, were now lost; the depots, magazines, and rendezvouses destroyed; and the war could no longer be maintained at the expense of others. To complete this embarrassment, the country of the Enſ raised a dangerous insurrection, where the untimely zeal of the regency for making proselytes disarmed the Protestant subjects, and created commotions while the enemy already threatened the frontiers. After so long a continuance of good fortune, such splendid victories and great conquests, and so much unnecessary effusion of blood, the Austrian monarch saw himself, a second time, plunged into the same abyss which threatened him on his accession with ruin. Should Bavaria embrace a neutrality, Saxony withstand the tempting offers, and France resolve to attack Spain at the same time in the Netherlands and Catalonia, Austria's ruin would be completed, the allied powers would divide its spoils, and the German system would undergo a total change.

The entire chain of these disasters commenced with the battle of Breitenfeld, whose unfortunate issue visibly discovered the approaching ruin of the Austrian monarchy; hitherto concealed under the delusion of a great name. When men reflected

upon the formidable superiority which the Swedes obtained in the field, it was principally attributed to the unlimited power of their leader, who united all the strength of his party in one point, and, fettered by no higher authority, was at liberty to profit by every favourable circumstance which might promote his ends. But since Wallenstein's resignation and Tilly's defeat, the contrary was observed on the part of the Emperor and of the League; the generals wanted consideration among their troops, and the liberty of acting, the soldiers wanted obedience and discipline, the scattered corps an unanimous effect; the states wanted attachment, their leaders union, quickness of resolution, and firmness in executing their projects. It was not their superior strength, but rather their better use of it, which gave the enemy so decisive a superiority over the Emperor; Ferdinand and the League possessed the means, but not the spirit, to convert them to a proper use. Had even Tilly never lost his reputation, the distrust entertained of Bavaria did not permit the fate of the monarchy to be left in the hands of a man who never concealed his attachment to that house. Ferdinand's most pressing want was a general who possessed experience sufficient to form and command the army, and who should devote, with blind obedience, his services to the House of Austria.

Such a choice now occupied the attention of the Emperor's privy council, whose members were divided upon the subject. In order to oppose one monarch to another, Ferdinand, in the first fire occasioned by the circumstances, offered himself to be the leader of his army; but little trouble

was required to overturn a resolution which arose only from despair, and which subsided upon calm reflection. But the resolution which the Emperor was prevented from embracing by the weight of administration, circumstances permitted his son, a youth of talents and fortitude, on whom the subjects of Austria already placed great expectations. Required by his birth to defend a monarchy, whose two crowns he already bore, Ferdinand III. King of Hungary and Bohemia, united with the natural dignity of a successor to the throne, the respect of the army and the affection of the people, so necessary for him in supporting the war. It was only the beloved successor who could venture to lay new burdens upon the subjects; it was only his personal appearance in the army that could extinguish the pernicious jealousy which reigned among its leaders, and restore the troops to their former discipline. If the youth wanted the necessary maturity of judgment, wisdom, and military experience, which only practice could attain, a fortunate choice of counsellors and assistants, who under the cover of his name could be invested with supreme authority, would supply the deficiency.

However rational the grounds were upon which a part of the ministry supported this proposal, it received great opposition from, perhaps, the Emperor's jealousy and the desperate state of affairs. It was dangerous to entrust the fate of the monarchy to a youth so deficient of experience; it was risking too much to oppose to the greatest general of the age, a beginner whose capacity for this important post was hitherto tried by no undertaking, who had gained no reputation, and

was much too feeble to inspire a dispirited army with courage: the state which a royal leader was expected to maintain with the army, would impose a new burden upon the subject. How serious a matter was it, for the Prince himself to commence his political career with an office which would render him the scourge of his people, and the oppressor of his future territories!

It was not alone necessary to find a general for the army; an army must also be found for the general. Since Wallenstein's compulsory resignation, the Emperor had defended his cause more by the assistance of Bavaria and the League than by his own armies; and this dependance upon suspicious allies rendered it necessary for him to have recourse to a general of his own. But what possibility was there of raising a new army without the all-powerful aid of gold, and a victorious commander, and an army which by its discipline, warlike spirit, and expertness, could be confronted with the experienced troops of the northern conqueror? In all Europe there was only one man capable of this, and he had received a mortal affront.

The juncture had at length arrived which procured the offended pride of Wallenstein an unprecedented satisfaction. Fate itself had avenged him, and an uninterrupted series of misfortunes, which since the day of his dismissal assailed Austria, made the Emperor confess, that with this general he had lost his right arm. Every defeat of his troops renewed these wounds, and every place lost reproached the deceived monarch with his weakness and ingratitude. Sufficiently fortunate to have lost in the offended general

only the leader of his armies and the defender of his states; he found, however, in him an enemy the most dangerous of all, as he was least prepared against treason.

Removed from the theatre of war, and condemned to an irksome inactivity, while his competitor gathered laurels in the field, that proud general had beheld the change of fortune with studied composure, and concealed in theatrical pomp the dark designs of his active genius. Actuated by a glowing sensibility, while he affected a contented exterior, he calmly waited the opportunity of satiating his revenge and offended honour, which approached with slow but certain steps to a conclusion. He had now forgotten all that he owed to the Emperor, and the services which he had performed the latter were alone imprinted on his imagination; his insatiable thirst for power delighted in the Emperor's ingratitude, which seemed to absolve him from every duty. He now considered himself justified in a retaliation; while the measure of his exterior career was restrained, his hopes were extended, and an enthusiastic imagination lost itself in boundless designs, which in every other character but his would appear madness. He had, by his own energies, raised himself to that pinnacle of greatness which his merits enabled him to attain, and fortune had denied him nothing that is not beyond the reach of a private man and citizen; until the moment of his dismissal, his design had received no opposition, his ambition had felt no bounds. The blow which struck him at the diet of Ratisbon, displayed the difference between voluntary and coercive power, and the disagreement of the mas-

ter from the subject. Roused from the intoxication of his power by the sudden reverse of fortune, he confounded the authority which he had possessed, with that which had deprived him of it, and his ambition observed the steps which could obtain his ends. It was after seriously experiencing the supreme power that he earnestly exerted himself; the extortion which was practised towards him, rendered him a robber. Exasperated by no injury, he dedicated his services to the throne, satisfied with being the most distinguished of its defenders, and it was not till after his disgrace that he departed from the system to which he had adhered, and desperately ventured upon his own good fortune.

Gustavus Adolphus had overrun the north of Germany; every place was conquered, and at Leipsic fell the flower of the Austrian troops. The fame of this defeat soon reached the ears of Wallenstein, who, retired in Prague to the condition of a private man, beheld at a distance the tumult of war. What filled all Catholics with consternation, announced his greatness and good fortune; it was for him that Gustavus Adolphus laboured. Scarce had the King begun to acquire a reputation by his exploits, when Wallenstein lost not a moment to court his friendship, and unite with the fortunate enemy of Austria. The banished Count Thurn, who had long devoted his services to the King of Sweden, undertook to communicate to that monarch Wallenstein's congratulations, and to propose a close alliance. Wallenstein required 15,000 men from the King, in order, by their assistance and that of the troops which he himself engaged to raise;

to conquer Bohemia and Moravia, to fall upon Vienna, and to drive the Emperor to Italy. However this unexpected offer and its successive promises excited the distrust of Gustavus Adolphus, the latter was too good a judge of merit to treat such an important friend with coldness. But when Wallenstein, encouraged by the favourable reception of his first offer, renewed it after the battle of Breitenfeld, and required a decisive answer, the prudent monarch hesitated to entrust his reputation to the chimerical projects of this restless character, and so large a force to the sincerity of a man who announced himself a traitor. He alleged as an excuse the weakness of his army, which must suffer in his progress through the Empire by so sensible a diminution; and lost by too great a caution, perhaps, the opportunity to put an immediate end to the war. He too late sought to renew this negotiation; the favourable moment was past, and Wallenstein's offended pride could never forgive the neglect with which he was treated.

But the King's hesitation hastened, perhaps, the breach which the nature of their characters rendered inevitable. Both born to give laws, not to receive them, they could not be united in an undertaking which, above all others, required reciprocal sacrifices. Wallenstein was *nothing*, where he was not *every thing*; he must either act with unlimited power, or not at all. So cordially did Gustavus Adolphus detest control, that he was near breaking the advantageous alliance with the French court, which fettered his active genius. Each was lost to a party which he could not govern, and the latter still less form-

ed for a state of dependance. If the imperative commands of this ally to Wallenstein were so burdensome in common operations, they must be altogether insupportable when they required a participation of the spoil. The proud monarch could not condescend to accept the assistance of a rebellious subject against the Emperor, and to reward his important services with royal munificence; he never could so much lose sight of his own dignity as to satisfy the extravagant ambition of Wallenstein; never could he recompense useful treason with a crown. It was also from him, in case all Europe remained inactive, that a formidable competitor was looked for, should Wallenstein usurp the Bohemian sceptre; and he was in all Europe the only man who could give strength to such a veto. Rendered dictator of Germany, through the means of Wallenstein, he might turn his arms against the latter, and consider himself absolved from every sense of gratitude towards the traitor. Neither could a Wallenstein find a place with such an ally; and apparently it was this, not his designs upon the Imperial throne, which made him utter, upon hearing of the King's death, the following sentence: "Fortunate it is for him and me that he is dead! The German Empire cannot support two such leaders."

The first scheme of revenge towards the House of Austria was resolved upon, but the means to execute it remained undecided. What he had failed in effecting with the King of Sweden he hoped to obtain with less difficulty from the Elector of Saxony. Engaged in a continual correspondence with Arnheim, his old friend, he

from this period laboured to effect an alliance with Saxony, by which he hoped to render himself equally formidable to the Emperor and the King. He flattered himself that a measure which, if it failed with the Swedish monarch, would be the more readily embraced by John George, the more that prince's jealousy was excited by the power of Gustavus Adolphus; and his otherwise weak attachment to the latter was enfeebled by the great design of the King. Should he succeed in withdrawing Saxony from the Swedish alliance, and, in conjunction with it, to erect a third power in the Empire, the fate of the war lay in his hands; and, led by this single step, he might satiate his vengeance against the Emperor, resent the coldness of the Swedish King, and lay the foundation of his own greatness upon the ruins of both.

But whatever measures he pursued, he could not attain his ends without the support of an army altogether devoted to him. This force could not be so privately assembled without exciting the suspicion of the Imperial court, and betraying his intentions. Such an army could not previously be informed of their rebellious destination, since it was improbable that they would listen to the voice of a traitor against their legitimate sovereign. Wallenstein was, therefore, obliged publicly to recruit under Imperial authority, and to be invested by the Emperor himself with the absolute command of the troops. How could it be otherwise when he gained the command anew, and the unlimited conduct of the war? Nevertheless, neither his pride nor his interests permitted him, in person, to solicit a post

whose power was limited by the Emperor, whose fears, it might naturally be expected, should render it uncontrolled. In order to make himself master of the condition upon which the supreme command must be accepted, he must wait until he was invited. This was the advice he received from Arnheim, and the end for which he laboured with deep policy and restless activity.

Convinced that only extreme necessity could conquer the Emperor's irresolution, and the hatred of Bavaria and Spain, his most zealous enemies, he was henceforward occupied in promoting the progress of the enemy, and increasing his master's embarrassment. It was very probable, upon his invitation and encouragement, that the Saxons, already on their march to Lusatia, and Silesia, turned towards Bohemia, and overran that defenceless kingdom: the rapid conquests there were no less effected by his means. Through the despair which he excited the capital surrendered to the conquerors. In an interview which he held under pretext of negotiating a peace with the Saxon general at Kaunitz, it may be supposed he sealed his treason; and the conquests of Bohemia was, perhaps, the first fruit of his secret understanding. While he took every opportunity to promote the calamities of Austria, which were effectually increased by the rapid progress of the Swedes on the Rhine, he made his adherents in Vienna expostulate upon the public misfortune, and complain of the dismissal of the late general as the source of the losses which were sustained. "Had Wallenstein commanded, this would never have happened," exclaimed a thousand voices; and even in the

Emperor's privy council this sentiment obtained zealous adherents.

Their repeated arguments were not necessary to convince the oppressed monarch of his past fault. His dependance upon Bavaria and the League soon became insupportable to him; but, notwithstanding this dependance, he did not betray his distrust, nor hesitate, by the recall of Wallenstein, to court the favour of the Electors. But now, pressed by daily necessity, and when the weakness of the Bavarian support became visible, he no longer scrupled to lend an ear to Wallenstein's friends, and take into consideration their proposals for the reinstatement of that general. The immense riches which the latter possessed; his high reputation, and the rapidity with which, six years before, he had assembled an army of 40,000 men; the little expense with which he had maintained that formidable force; the actions which he performed at its head; the zeal, and, in a word, the fidelity he displayed for the Emperor's honour; still made a lively impression upon the monarch, and represented Wallenstein to him as the most proper instrument to restore the balance, and to save Austria, with the Catholic religion. However sensibly the Imperial pride felt its humiliation upon this occasion; however evidently he confessed it by his departure from his former measures; however painful it was to him to descent from the dignity of his situation to entreaties; notwithstanding his suspicion of the fidelity of so bitterly offended and implacable a man; notwithstanding the force with which the Spanish minister and the Elector of Bavaria expressed their

displeasure at this step, necessity at length overcame every other consideration, and Wallenstein's friends were empowered to consult his sentiments, and learn the possibility of his reinstatement.

Informed of all that passed in the Emperor's cabinet to his advantage, Wallenstein possessed self-command sufficient to conceal his inward triumph and affected indifference. The moment of revenge was arrived, and his proud heart delighted to repay the Emperor's mortification in its fullest extent. With artful eloquence did he expatiate upon the fortunate lot of a private station, which he had enjoyed since his retirement from the political world. Too long, he said, he had tasted the pleasures of ease and independence to make any further sacrifices to the vain phantom of glory, and the uncertain favour of princes. All his desires for greatness and power were now extinguished, and rest was the only end of his wishes. In order to betray no impatience, he declined the Emperor's invitation to his court, but repaired at the same time to Znaim in Moravia, to facilitate his negotiation.

In the commencement it was endeavoured to confine the authority which was entrusted to him by means of a superior, and thereby to satisfy the Elector of Bavaria. The Emperor's deputies, Questenberg and Werdenberg, who, as the old friends of Wallenstein, were employed in this negotiation, received orders to mention the King of Hungary for this station, who should be present at the Army, and learn the art of war under Wallenstein. But the bare mention of this name threatened to destroy the negotiation, Wal-

lenstein declared he would never admit of an associate in the command. But after they departed from this obnoxious point, the Imperial favourite and minister, Prince Eggenberg, Wallenstein's steady friend, who was sent in person to him, for a long time exhausted all his eloquence to overcome the pretended aversion of the latter. "The monarch," said the minister, "had in Wallenstein, lost the most costly jewel in his crown; but he had already sufficiently repented of this compulsive and hasty step, and his respect for him was unchangeable. The unlimited confidence which was now placed on his talents and fidelity gave the most decisive proof of it, in order to remedy the faults of his predecessors, and to change the appearance of matters. It would be great and noble for him to sacrifice his just indignation to the choice of his country, and worthy of him to oppose the warmth of his redoubled zeal to the calumny of his enemies. The victory over himself," ended the prince, "would crown his inestimable merits, and render him the greatest man of the age."

Such disgraceful circumstances and flattering promises at length appeared to disarm the indignation of Wallenstein; but not until he had exhausted all his reproaches against the Emperor, and made a pompous display of his services, and humiliated the monarch who now required his assistance. As if he yielded to these considerations alone, he consented with haughtiness to what was the most ardent wish of his soul, and deigned to favour the messenger with a ray of hope. But too far removed to relieve the Em-

peror's embarrassment by a full consent, he only partly fulfilled what was required of him, in order to give the greater value to his remaining service. He accepted the command but for three months; only to organize the army, not to lead it against the enemy. It was by means of this formation that he intended to display his power and abilities, and show the Emperor that his preservation depended upon Wallenstein. Convinced that an army which his name alone drew from insignificance would return to insignificance when deserted by its creator, it served him as a pretext to obtain the more important concessions on the part of his master: and even under these humiliating circumstances, Ferdinand congratulated himself that he had made such an acquisition.

Wallenstein did not long delay to put the projects into execution, which all Germany thought chimerical, and Gustavus Adolphus considered as extravagant. But the foundation of this undertaking was long since laid, and he had only now to set the engines in motion, which had been prepared a number of years for this purpose. Scarce had the report of Wallenstein's preparations spread itself, when crowds of warriors repaired from the extremities of the Ausrian monarchy to seek their fortunes under him. Many who had fought under his standards, had been eye-witnesses to his greatness, and experienced his munificence, now came forward from obscurity to divide with him fame and spoil. The greatness of the pay which was promised attracted thousands, and the rich support which the soldiers were to receive at the expense of the peasants, was, to the latter, an invincible motive

to embrace a military life, rather than suffer under their former oppression, All the Austrian provinces were invited to join in this equipment; no situation was exempted from the taxes and capitation. The Spanish court, as well as the King of Hungary, subscribed considerable sums; the ministers made valuable presents, and Wallenstein himself advanced 200,000 dollars to hasten the preparations. The poorer officers he assisted; and by his example, and splendid promises, he enlisted troops on his own account. Whoever raised a corps was its commander. In the appointment of the officers, religion made no difference; riches, bravery, and experience were considered more than faith. Through this equal treatment of the different sects, and still more by the declaration that the present preparations did not interfere with religion, the Protestant subject was quieted, and reconciled to the public burden. At the same time Wallenstein did not fail to treat, in his own name, with foreign powers for men and money. The Duke of Lorraine's alliance he had second time gained to the Emperor: Poland must yield him Cossacs, and Italy warlike necessities. Before the end of a month the army which was assembled in Moravia amounted to no less than 40,000 men, principally drawn from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the other provinces of Austria. What appeared impossible to all Europe, Wallenstein had in a short time effected. He had assembled as many thousands as hundreds were expected, by the charm of his reputation, his gold, and his genius. Provided, to a superfluity, with all warlike necessities, commanded by experienced officers, and

inflamed with an enthusiasm which promised victory, this newcollected army awaited only the signal of their leader, to show themselves, by their exploits, worthy of him.

Wallenstein had fulfilled his promise, and the army was ready to take the field: he then retired, and left the Emperor the choice of its commander. But it was as difficult to collect such another force as to find a Wallenstein for its chief. This promising army, the last hope of the Emperor, was nothing when deprived of him who raised it; it arose through Wallenstein, and without him it sunk, like a magical creation, into its former insignificance. The officers were either attached to him by former services, or bound to his interest; the regiments had been given to his relations, his creatures, and his favourites. He alone was the man to keep the extravagant promises which retained the troops in the service. His word was the only security for every bold expectation; implicit reliance was the only bond which contained their different sentiments. Individual good fortune was destroyed when any one swerved from the general undertaking; a blind confidence in his power the only means to excite their zeal to unanimity.

However little Wallenstein was earnest in his refusal, he profited by this means to prevail upon the Emperor to grant his extravagant demands. The enemy's progress rendered the danger daily more pressing; and its termination depended upon one man. At length the Prince of Eggenberg received orders to use his interest with his friend Wallenstein to continue the command.

He found him at Znaim in Moravia, pompously surrounded by his troops. The deputy was received by the proud subject as a suppliant. „Never,” said Wallenstein, “could he trust to a reinstatement, which was derived from the Emperor’s necessity, not his justice. He was now sought for, when the extremity was at its utmost, and when from his arm alone safety was expected; but whatever services he could render would soon be forgotten, and the former security would produce ingratitude. His reputation was at stake if he depended upon expectation by which he had already been deceived; as well as his fortune and his repose, when he succeeded in fulfilling what was required of him. The old jealousies would soon be excited, and the independent monarch would a second time sacrifice his faithful servant to his convenience. It would be better for him voluntary to relinquish a post which sooner or later the cabals of his enemies would deprive him of. Safety and contentment awaited him from a private station, and he had only relinquished it in order to please the Emperor.”

Tired of this farce, the minister at length assumed an earnest tone, and threatened his opposition with the Emperor’s indignation if he any longer persisted in his refusal. “The Imperial dignity,” he added, “had sufficiently condescended already, and instead thereby of exciting his magnanimity had only encouraged his insolence; should the latter not be contented with this sacrifice, he should beware of converting the suppliant into the master, and exasperating the monarch against the rebel: that as Emperor

"he could insist upon submission; and however
"he might have erred as man, he could not as
"sovereign. If Wallenstein suffered unjustly, he
"was now recompensed for all his losses. Did
"he demand a security for his person and dignity,
"the Emperor's equity would not refuse it him;
"but offended majesty could not descend to any
"apology, and the disobedience of the subject
"annihilated all former merits. The Emperor in
"person demanded his services, whatever price
"he set upon them would be granted; but he re-
"quired obedience, without which the master's
"indignation would crush the refractory servant."

Wallenstein, whose extensive possessions, confined within the Austrian monarchy, lay every moment exposed to the Emperor, felt this threat was not idle. But it was not fear which at length overcame his affected obstinacy, it was this tone of entreaty, which convinced him of the weakness and desperation whence it arose; and the Emperor's readiness to yield to all his demands, announced his arrival at the summit of his utmost wishes. He now yielded to the persuasions of Eggenberg, and left to him the adjustment of his demands.

It was not without apprehension the minister beheld a writing, wherein the proudest of servants prescribed laws to the proudest of masters. But however little he depended upon the discretion of his friend, the extravagant contents of this writing exceeded his boldest expectations. Wallenstein required the unlimited command of all the German armies in the pay of Spain and of Austria, and the unconfined power of rewards and punishments; neither the King of Hungary

nor the Emperor himself was to appear in the army, much less to exert any prerogative. The Emperor was to bestow no place, to confer no favour, to issue no letter of grace, without the consent of Wallenstein; all the confiscations in the Empire were exclusively to be at latter's disposal. His ordinary pay was to be augmented by an Imperial estate, and another in the Empire; every Austrian province was, in case of necessity, to be opened to him if he stood in need of a retreat. He besides this demanded the dutchy of Mecklenburg upon the conclusion of the peace, as an equivalent for his being deprived of the command at any future period.

It was in vain that the minister requested of him to moderate his demands, by means of which the Emperor was deprived of the authority over his troops, and rendered dependant upon his general; the importance of his services was too plainly disclosed to him not to be master of their price. When the necessity of the exigences inclined him to yield to those demands which revenge and haughtiness first prompted him to make, the plan of future insurrection was formed, and no advantage was to be rejected. This plan required that all the Emperor's authority in Germany should be transferred to his general, and this end was attained whenever Ferdinand subscribed to the latter's conditions. The use which Wallenstein intended to make of his army, very different indeed from that for which it had been entrusted to him, admitted of no divided power, still less of higher authority. In order to be master of his designs, he must previously command the destiny of the troops. Imperceptibly to

subject his sovereign to himself, and to transfer to his own person the supreme authority, he must carefully remove the Emperor from the eyes of the army: hence arose his obstinate resistance to suffer no prince of Austria with the troops. The command which he was to have over all the confiscated and conquered estates in the Empire, afforded him formidable means of purchasing dependants and useful instruments, and to act the part of a dictator in Germany much more than the Emperor in time of peace. Possessed of the power to use the Austrian territories, in case of necessity, as a retreat, he also held the means of treating the Emperor in his own dominions as a prisoner, and of shaking in its centre the power of Austria. Whatever might be the consequence, he secured himself, by the conditions which he had obtained, against every event from the Emperor: if circumstances favoured his designs, his agreement with Ferdinand facilitated their execution; was he, on the contrary, unfortunate, the same conditions secured him indemnity. But how could an agreement be valid which was forcibly obtained from his sovereign, and was grounded upon treason? How could he hope to bind the Emperor by a written agreement, which condemned him to death who was so rash as to force it? Nevertheless this criminal was the most indispensable man in the monarchy, and Ferdinand, though practised in dissimulation, accorded him all that he desired.

At length an Imperial army was formed which was worthy of that name; every other influence in it, even that of the Emperor himself, ceased so soon as Wallenstein assumed the commander's

staff, and no authority was confirmed which did not proceed from him. From the banks of the Danube to those of the Weser and the Oder, his influence extended; a new spirit commenced to inspire the Imperial troops, and a new epocha of the war was begun; fresh hopes were entertained by the Papists, and the Protestant world saw with concern the change of affairs.

The greater the price at which the general was purchased, the more expectation were formed of him at the Imperial court. But Wallenstein did not hasten to fulfil these expectations; at the head of a formidable army in the neighbourhood of Bohemia, he only required to show himself there in order to overpower the exhausted force of the Saxons, and by the reconquest of that kingdom to commence a victorious career. But satisfied to molest the enemy by skirmishes of Croats, he abandoned the best part of the kingdom to plunder, and thwarted by rapid steps his own designs; his plan was, not to oppose the Saxons, but to unite with them. Entirely occupied with this idea, he remained in the commencement inactive. More to insure his designs by the means of negotiation, he left nothing untried which was likely to detach the Elector from the Swedish alliance; and Ferdinand himself being inclined to a peace with that prince, favoured the negotiation. But the great debt which Saxony owed Sweden was still too recent in their minds to permit them to be guilty of such perfidy; and had they been actually inclined to it, the equivocal character of Wallenstein, and the bad reputation of the Austrian politics, did not permit any reliance to be placed on them. Too well

known, this deceitful statesman found no confidence, even on the very occasion where, perhaps, he intended to act with sincerity; and yet circumstances did not permit him to discover his secret intentions by a confession of his real motives; he therefore, unwillingly, determined to extort by force of arms what he could not obtain by negotiation. Having suddenly assembled his troops, he appeared before Prague sooner than the Saxons could relieve that city; after a short resistance the treachery of the Capucins opened the gates to one of his regiments, and the garrison, retired to the citadel, laid down their arms under disgraceful conditions. Master of the capital, he expected the more easily to promote his negotiation with the Court of Saxony; but at the very time that he renewed it with General Arnheim, he did not neglect to complete his conquest by a decisive blow. He immediately occupied the narrow passes between Aussig and Pirna, that he might cut off the retreat of the Saxons from their own country; but Arnheim's rapidity fortunately delivered him from this danger. Soon after Egra and Leitmeritz, the only remaining places possessed by the Saxons, surrendered to the conqueror, and in a shorter time than it was lost, the kingdom was restored to its legitimate sovereign.

Less occupied in promoting the interests of his master than his own designs, he now laid a plan to remove the seat of war to Saxony, and to compel the Elector, by ravaging his territories to enter into a private treaty with the Emperor, or rather with himself. But however little inclined to submit his designs to the force of circum-

stances, he was now compelled to postpone his favourite scheme to a more pressing necessity. While he drove the Saxons from Bohemia, Gustavus Adolphus maintained his superiority upon the Rhine and the Danube, and had already removed the seat of war through Franconia and Suabia to the frontiers of Bavaria. Defeated on the Lech, and deprived of his best support by the death of Tilly, Maximilian earnestly entreated the Emperor to call Wallenstein to his assistance, and, by the defence of Bavaria, to remove the danger from Austria itself. In the interim he dispatched messengers to the general, requesting a few regiments for his immediate safety, till the army could follow with Wallenstein at its head. Ferdinand seconded this request with all his authority.

But it now appeared how much the Emperor had surrendered his personal authority when he yielded up the command over his troops. Indifferent towards Maximilian's entreaties, and deaf to the repeated orders of the Emperor, Wallenstein remained inactive in Bohemia, and abandoned the Elector to his fate. The remembrance of the evil service which Maximilian had rendered him upon a former occasion at the diet of Ratisbon with the Emperor, was deeply engraved upon his implacable disposition, and the Elector's late attempts to prevent his reinstatement had not been kept a secret from him. But the moment of satisfying his vengeance was now arrived, and Maximilian severely felt his having made the most vindictive of men his enemy; Wallenstein declared that Bohemia ought not to be left exposed, and that Austria could not be better protec-

ted than when the Swedish army exhausted itself before the Bavarian fortresses. Thus, by means of the Swedes, he chastised his enemy, and while every place fell into their hands, he left the Elector vainly to await his arrival in Ratisbon. Not before the entire subjugation of Bohemia had deprived him of every excuse, and the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus in Bavaria threatened Austria itself with the near approach of danger, did he yield to the pressing entreaties of the Elector and the Emperor, and determined to effect the long-expected junction with the former, which, according to the general expectation of the Catholics, would decide the fate of the campaign.

Gustavus Adolphus, too weak to act against Wallenstein's army, was apprehensive of the union of such powerful forces, and men were justly astonished that he did not prevent in with more activity. It appears that he had formed too great expectations from the hatred which divided the hostile generals, and gave no room to hope for the co-operation of their arms; and it was too late to remedy this mistake when the event had contradicted his wishes. Upon receiving the first certain intelligence of their designs, he hastened towards the Upper Palatinate, with a view to intercept the Elector's progress, but the activity of the latter defeated the King's intention, and a junction of the two armies was formed at Egra.

This frontier town was chosen by Wallenstein for the theatre of the triumph which he intended to obtain over his proud competitor. Not contented with beholding him in the condition of a suppliant, he imposed on Maximilian the hard ne-

cessity of leaving his territories exposed to the enemy, and by this distant march to declare his weakness. It cost the Elector a hard struggle to thank the man for his safety, whose ruin he sought to promote; but the urgency of the case obliged him to conquer lower passions, and he was sufficient master of himself to do it.

But whatever pains it had cost to effect this junction of the two commanders, it was still more difficult to reconcile them to the conditions upon which they were to act; the entire command must be united under one head, if the end was to be attained, and no disposition was on either side shown to relinquish the supreme authority. If Maximilian depended upon his dignity of Elector, the splendour of his descent, and his consideration in the Empire, Wallenstein was not less proud of his military exploits, and the unlimited command conferred of him by the Emperor. However severe it was for the pride of the former to be obliged to serve under an Imperial subject, Wallenstein's haughtiness was no less flattered by imposing law upon such an imperious spirit; an obstinate dispute ensued, which, however, terminated to Wallenstein's advantage. The command of both armies was unlimitedly granted to the latter, particularly on the day of battle, and the disposition and routes of the army were assigned to the Elector, who reserved no more to himself than the rewards and punishments of his own troops, and to make whatever use of them thought proper, whenever they did not act in conjunction with the Imperialists.

After these preliminaries they at length ventured upon an interview, but not before they had

mutually promised to bury the past in oblivion; and all the ceremonies of a reconciliation were exactly observed. According to agreement, they publicly embraced in front of the armies, and made mutual professions of friendship, while malice lurked in the hearts of both. Maximilian, versed in the arts of dissimulation, had sufficient command of his countenance not to betray his true feelings; but Wallenstein's eyes declared a malicious pleasure; and the constraint which was visible in his whole deportment, showed the joy which had overpowered his haughty disposition.

The combined Imperial-Bavarian armies now amounted to near 60,000 men, and were mostly veterans, before whom the Swedish monarch was not in a condition to keep the field. He accordingly retreated without delay towards Franconia, so soon as an attempt to prevent their junction had miscarried, and awaited a movement of the enemy to form his resolution. The position of the combined armies between the frontiers of Saxony and Bavaria, did not leave it long doubtful whether they would remove the war to the former of these countries, or repel the Swedes from the Danube, and deliver Bavaria. Arnheim had withdrawn the troops from Saxony, to make conquests in Silesia; with the secret intention, it is reasonably supposed, of facilitating Wallenstein's entrance into the electorate, and bring John George's wavering disposition to an agreement with the Emperor. Gustavus Adolphus, conceiving that Wallenstein's designs were formed against Saxony, dispatched with all haste a considerable force to the assistance of his ally, resolutely determined to follow it with his whole army

whenever circumstances should require. But the movements of Wallenstein soon convinced him of his error, and the march of the Austrian army through the Upper Palatinate, set the matter beyond a doubt. The question was now, how to provide for his own security, and to maintain his existence in Germany, for which he must gain resources from the fertility of his genius. The enemy's approach surprised the King before he had time to collect his troops, scattered through Germany, and call the allied princes to his aid. Far too weak to approach the enemy, he had no other choice left than either to throw himself into Nuremberg, and risk being shut up in that city by Wallenstein's army and starved to a surrender, or sacrifice Nuremberg, and under the cannon of Donauwerth to await a reinforcement. Gustavus Adolphus, indifferent to every danger and hardship, while he obeyed the calls of humanity and honour, immediately embraced the former resolution, determined to bury himself and his whole army under Nuremberg's ruins, rather than consult his safety by the sacrifice of that city.

Measures were instantly taken to surround the city and its suburbs with redoubts, and to form an intrenched camp. Several thousand men immediately commenced that laborious Work, and the inhabitants of Nuremberg were inspired by a heroic zeal to risk their blood, their lives, and their properties, in the common cause. The intrenchment was surrounded by a ditch eight feet deep and twelve broad: the lines were defended by redoubts and bastions, and the gates protected by half-moons. The Pegnitz river, which

flows through Nuremberg, divided the camp into two semicircles, whose communication was secured by a number of bridges; above 300 pieces of cannon defended the town-wall and the intrenchments. The peasants from the neighbouring villages, and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, assisted the Swedish soldiers with so much zeal, that the army on the seventh day was prepared to enter the camp, and in a fortnight this great work was completed.

While these transactions took place without the walls, the magistrates of Nuremberg were busily occupied in filling the magazines, and collecting provisions and ammunition for a long siege. They enforced the strictest regularity, in order to preserve the health of the inhabitants, which might easily be endangered by the conflux of so many people; and in case of the necessity of supporting the King, the youth of the city was embodied and exercised, the militia considerably reinforced, and a new regiment raised, consisting of twentyfour names, according to the letters of the old alphabet. Gustavus had, meanwhile, called to his assistance his allies, William Duke of Weimar, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and ordered his generals on the Rhine and in Thuringia to hasten their march and join him as soon as possible. His army, which was encamped within the lines of the city, did not amount to more than 16,000 men, a number not equal to one third of the enemy.

The Austrians had advanced by slow marches to Neumark, where Wallenstein made a general review. At the aspect of this formidable army he could not refrain from expressing a childish rudo-

mantade: "Within four days it shall be known," cried he, "whether the King of Sweden or I shall be master of the world." He, however performed nothing to fulfil this promise, and neglected the opportunity of totally defeating his enemy, when the latter was so rash to form in order of battle outside his intrenchments. "Battles enough have been fought," exclaimed Wallenstein to those who encouraged him to the attack; "it is now time to follow another method." Here it was discovered how much was gained by a general whose well-grounded reputation did not require him to stake it in any rash enterprise, to which others must hasten to form themselves a character. Convinced that the enemy's despair would dearly sell the victory, while a defeat in that quarter would infallibly lead the Emperor's affairs to ruin, he resolved to exhaust the warlike impetuosity of his antagonist by a slow siege; and while he deprived him of every opportunity of displaying his courage, he took from him the advantage which had hitherto rendered him so invincible. Without making any attempt, he formed a strong camp on the higher side of the Pegnitz, opposite Nuremberg, and by his masterly position cut off from that city all communication with Franconia, Suabia, and Thuringia. Thus he held the King besieged, and flattered himself to contain in check the impetuosity of his opponent, which he did not wish to try in the field, and reduce him by the slower but more certain means of hunger.

But, too little acquainted with the strength and resources of his adversary, Wallenstein had not taken proper measures to avert a fate which he

he had prepared for others. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood all fled with their property, and whatever provisions remained must be obstinately contested with the Swedes. The King spared the city magazines so long as he could procure supplies from the vicinity, and the frequent skirmishes caused a continual contest between the Croats and the Swedes, of which the neighbouring country bore the most melancholy tokens; the necessaries of life must be acquired sword in hand; and no party could forage without a numerous escort; the King had recourse to the magazines of Nuremberg, but Wallenstein was obliged to provide his troops from a greater distance. A large convoy, purchased in Bavaria, was on its march to join him, and a detachment of a thousand men was sent to escort it safe into his camp. Gustavus Adolphus having received intelligence of its approach, detached a regiment of cavalry to cut off this supply, and the darkness of the night favoured the undertaking; the whole convoy fell, with the town, which it had reached into the hands of the King, the Imperial escort was cut in pieces, near 1200 head of cattle were driven away, and the same number of bread-waggons, which could not be removed, were set on fire. Seven regiments which Wallenstein had dispatched to Altdorf to augment the escort, were routed after an obstinate action by the King, who had in person advanced to cover the retreat of his party, and driven, with a loss of 400 men killed, back into the Imperial camp. So many vexatious circumstances, and such a firm resistance on the part of Gustavus Adolphus, made Wallenstein repent that he had avoided a battle;

the strength of the Swedish camp now rendered an attack impracticable, and Nuremberg's armed youth served the King as a nursery, from which he could supply his loss of men. The want of provisions which prevailed in the Imperial camp as well as in the Swedish, rendered it uncertain which party should be compelled first to retreat.

The hostile armies, defended by inaccessible intrenchments, remained in view during fifteen days without undertaking any more than small attacks and inconsiderable skirmishes; on both sides epidemic distempers, the natural consequence of bad nourishment and crowded people, had occasioned a greater loss of men than the sword, and this evil increased daily. At last the long-expected succour arrived in the Swedish camp, and the considerable reinforcement which the King received enabled him to obey the dictates of his native courage, and to break the fetters which had hitherto retained him.

Pursuant to his requisition, William Duke of Weimar had assembled troops from the Lower Saxon garrisons with all possible haste, which were joined at Schweinfurt, in Franconia, by four regiments, and soon after, at Kitzingen, by the forces from the Rhine, which the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld detached to the King's succour. The Chancellor Oxenstierna undertook to conduct this united force to the place of its destination. After being joined at Windsheim by Duke Bernard of Weimar and the Swedish general Banner, he advanced by rapid marches to Bruck and Eltersdorf, where he passed the Rednitz, and fortunately arrived in the Swedish camp. This succour

amounted to near 50,000 men, and was attended by a train of sixty pieces of cannon, and 4000 baggage-waggons. Gustavus Adolphus now saw himself at the head of an army 70,000 strong, without reckoning the militia of Nuremberg, which could, in case of necessity, bring into the field 30,000 able citizens: a formidable force, which was opposed by one no less formidable! The war now appeared ready to be decided by one decisive battle, and here to have attained its termination. With anxiety divided Europe looked to the scene of action where both armies assembled in such powerful numbers.

If before the arrival of this succour a scarcity of bread was felt, that evil had increased in both camps (for Wallenstein was joined by reinforcements from Bavaria) to a terrible degree. Besides 120,000 men which were confronted to each other, and more than 50,000 horses in both armies; besides the inhabitants of Nuremberg, exceeded in number the Swedish army, 15,000 women were reckoned in Wallenstein's camp, with as many drivers and servants: nor was the number much less in the King's. The custom of the times permitted the soldier to lead his family into the field. A number of prostitutes followed the Imperial army, and a strict care for morals in the Swedish camp promoted marriages. For the young generation, whose native country was the camp, military schools were erected, which provided an excellent race of warriors, so that the army could recruit itself in a long war. It is not surprising these wandering bands exhausted every country through which they passed, and that the necessaries of life were rendered scarce

All the mills of Nuremberg were not sufficient to grind corn, which every hour grew scarcer, and 50,000 pounds of bread, which the city daily sent to the camp, only excited hunger without satisfying it. The laudable care of the magistrates could not prevent the greater part of the horses from dying for want of forage; and the increasing distempers daily sent more than a hundred men to the grave.

To terminate these necessities, Gustavus Adolphus, relying upon his strength, left his lines on the fifty-fifth day, formed in order of battle front of the enemy, and cannonaded Wallenstein's camp from three batteries which he had raised upon the banks of the Rednitz. But Wallenstein remained immoveable in his intrenchments, and contented himself with answering this challenge by a distant fire of cannon and small-arms. To reduce the King to straits by a defensive plan, and to overcome his patience by the force of hunger, he carefully avoided a battle; and neither the remonstrances of Maximilian, the spirit of the army, nor the enemy's reproaches, could overcome this resolution. Deceived in his expectations, and pressed by want, Gustavus Adolphus resolved upon an impossibility, and determined to storm the camp, which was rendered inaccessible by art and nature.

After he had entrusted his own camp to the Nuremberg militia, he advanced on St. Bartholomew's day, the fifty-eighth of his encampment, in full order of battle, and passing the Rednitz at Fürth, drove the advanced posts of the enemy with ease before him; their main force stood upon the heights between the Biber and

the Rednitz; and the camp, commanded by those heights, extended along the plain. The whole artillery was collected upon this eminence. Deep ditches surrounded inaccessible intrenchments, thick abattis and pointed palisades defended the approach of a height, from the summit of which calmly and at his ease Wallenstein discharged the thunder of his artillery, amid thick clouds of smoke. An effectual fire was sustained from behind the breastworks by the musketry, and a hundred pieces of cannon threatened the bold assailant with certain destruction. It was against this dangerous post that Gustavus Adolphus directed his attack, and 500 musketeers, supported by a few infantry (for many could not advance by reason of the narrowness of the position), had the unprofitable honour of being the first that sacrificed their lives before the enemy. The assault was serious, the resistance obstinate: exposed to the whole fire of the enemy's artillery, and undismayed through the aspect of inevitable death, these determined warriors stormed the heights, which, in a moment, were converted to a second Hecla, and discharged among them a shower of shot: immediately upon this the heavy cavalry rushed forward between the openings which the enemy's fire made among the assailants, whose ranks at length fell into disorder, and who, after the loss of a hundred men killed, betook themselves to flight. It was to the Germans that Gustavus Adolphus yielded the fatal post of honour; and exasperated by their retreat, he now led his Finlanders to the assault, and, by their northern courage, to disgrace the German cowardice. But they also, having experienced a similar reception,

yielded to the superior position of the enemy, and a new regiment relieved them with as little success; this was succeeded by a third, a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth; so that, during a ten hours action, every regiment came into fire, and was repulsed with loss. A thousand dead bodies covered the field; nevertheless Gustavus Adolphus still renewed the attack, and Wallenstein intrepidly maintained his position.

Meanwhile the Imperial cavalry charged the left wing of the Swedes, which was posted in a field, with great impetuosity, and the combat was maintained with intrepidity and carnage on both sides, with various success. Wallenstein and Bernard Duke of Weimar had each a horse shot under him; the King himself had part of his boot taken away by a cannon-ball. The combat was maintained with equal obstinacy until the approach of night separated them. But the Swedes found themselves too far advanced to undertake a retreat without danger. While the King sought for an officer to convey to the regiments his order to retreat, he met Colonel Hebron, a brave Scotsman, whose native courage had alone drawn him from the camp to partake the dangers of the day. Displeased with the King, who had some time before preferred a younger colonel to him after a dangerous action, he had formed the resolution of quitting the service. Gustavus Adolphus now turned to him, and, paying him some compliments upon his bravery, requested him to command the regiments to retreat. "Sire," answered the intrepid soldier, "that is the only service I can render your Majesty, since it is accompanied with danger;" and immediately

hastened to obey his orders. In fact, the Duke of Weimar had, during the heat of the battle, taken possession of an eminence which commanded the enemy; but a heavy rain, which fell the same night, rendered its sides so slippery that the cannon could not be brought up, and it was accordingly abandoned. Dissident of his good fortune, which forsook him on this decisive day, the King did not venture, on the following morning, to renew the attack, and, vanquished for the first time because he was not victor, he led back his troops over the Rednitz. Two thousand dead, whom he left on the field of battle, betrayed his loss, and Wallenstein remained in his camp unconquered.

Both armies still continued fourteen days in view, each with a hope of first compelling its enemy to retreat. According as provisions were daily consumed, hunger was felt, and the soldier, rendered furious, exercised upon the people every species of oppression. The increasing necessity had extinguished all discipline in the Swedish camp, and the German regiments in particular distinguished themselves by the cruelties which they indiscriminately practised against friends and enemies. Individual weakness could not undertake to stop their excesses, which received a sanction from the silence of inferior commanders, and who often encouraged it by their example. The King was greatly exasperated at these breaches of a discipline, upon the observance of which he had hitherto so much piqued himself, and the warm manner in which he addressed the German officers betrayed the liveliness of his emotion. "It is you, Germans," cried he, "that rob your

"country, and act against your own allies. As God is my judge, I detest and cannot bear the sight of you. You neglect my orders, and are the cause of the curses which I receive, and of my being every where assailed by the tears of poverty, which exclaim that I, as a friend, create more mischief than the most desperate enemy. It is on your account that I have stripped my crown of its treasure, and expended above forty tons of gold*, without having received from you that support which I reasonably expected. I divided among you my all, and, had you obeyed my orders, should with pleasure have still expended amongst you my future acquisitions. Your want of discipline convinces me of your evil intentions, whatever cause I may otherwise have to applaud your bravery."

Nuremberg had exceeded its strength, that it might, during eleven weeks, subsist the immense number of people which had assembled around it; but its means were at length exhausted, and the King, who commanded the more numerous part, was on that account first obliged to resolve upon a retreat. The city had interred above 10,000 of its inhabitants, and Gustavus Adolphus nearly 20,000 of his soldiers, by war and sickness. The surrounding fields had been trodden down; the villages lay in ashes; the people, plundered, languished upon the highways; dead bodies infected the air, bad nourishment, with the exhalation

* A ton of gold in Sweden amounts to 100,000 rix-dollars; consequently the Kings expenses must have amounted to 633,333 l. 6s. 8d. sterling, a large sum for so poor a country as Sweden. Trans.

of so many people, together with the heat of the dog-days, produced raging disorders among men and beasts, and long after the departure of the army, misery and want prevailed in the country. Affected by the general affliction, and despairing to conquer Wallenstein's obstinacy, the King broke up his camp on the 8th September, and left Nuremberg, after having taken the precaution to provide that city with a sufficient garrison. He advanced in full order of battle before the enemy, which remained motionless, and did not in the least endeavour to disturb his retreat. His march was directed to Neustadt and Windsheim, where he remained five days to refresh his troops, and be in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg, should the enemy make any attempt against that city. But Wallenstein, no less exhausted, had only awaited the departure of the Swedes to begin his own. Five days after he left his camp at Zirndorf, and set it on fire. A hundred columns of smoke which arose from the surrounding villages announced his retreat, and showed Nuremberg the dreadful fate which awaited it in case it was conquered. His march, which was directed towards Forcheim, was marked by the most terrible devastation; but he was too far advanced to be overtaken by the King. The latter now divided his army, which the exhausted country could no longer subsist: a part of it was left to maintain Franconia, and with the other he prosecuted in person his conquests in Bavaria.

In the mean time the Imperial-Bavarian army was advanced into the bishopric of Bamberg, where Wallenstein mustered it anew. He found this force, which so lately had consisted of 60,000

men, diminished by the sword, sickness, and desertion, to 24,000, of whom a fourth consisted of Bavarians. Thus had the camps before Nuremberg exhausted both armies without the war approaching nearer to its end, or the expectations of Europe being fulfilled by a decisive battle. The King's conquests in Bavaria were indeed for some time interrupted by the diversion at Nuremberg, and Austria secured against invasion: but by the enemy's retreat from before that city, he was left at liberty to make Bavaria once more the theatre of war. Indifferent towards the fate of that devoted country, and weary of the burden of his alliance with its Elector, Wallenstein anxiously seized the opportunity of forsaking Maximilian, and of prosecuting his favourite schemes with renewed earnest. True to his first maxim, of detaching Saxony from Sweden, he destined that country for his winter-quarters, and hoped by his destructive presence the sooner to compel the Elector to a separate peace.

No conjuncture could be more favourably chosen for this undertaking. The Saxons had fallen upon Silesia, where, in union with the Brandenburg and Swedish reinforcements, they had obtained several advantages over the Emperor's troops. Silesia was saved by the diversion which was made in the Elector's own states; and Wallenstein's plan was the more easy, as Saxony, deprived of defence by the Silesian war, lay on every side exposed to the enemy. The necessity of saving an hereditary country of Austria prevailed before the interests of the Elector of Bavaria, and, under the mask of a patriotic zeal for the Emperor, Maximilian was sacrificed. While

Bavaria was abandoned to the King of Sweden, the enemy hoped to be uninterrupted in its progress in Saxony, and the increasing coldness between that monarch and the Saxon court left room to apprehend little zeal on his part for the deliverance of John George. Once more abandoned by his artful protector, the Elector of Bavaria separated from Wallenstein at Bamberg, to protect with the small remains of his troops his helpless country; and the Imperial army directed its march through Baireuth and Coburg to the Thuringian forest.

An Imperial general, Holk, was already detached into Vogtland; to ravage that defenceless province with fire and sword. He was soon after followed by Gallas, another of Wallenstein's generals, and a proper instrument for executing his inhuman orders. At length Pappenheim was recalled from Lower Saxony, to reinforce Wallenstein's army, and to complete the miseries of the country. Ruined churches, villages in ashes, harvests destroyed, families plundered, and assassinations, marked the progress of these barbarians, at whose mercy lay all Thuringia, Vogtland, and Meissen; but these were only the prelude to still greater miseries, with which Wallenstein himself, at the head of the principal army, threatened Saxony. After having left behind him the most atrocious monuments of his fury, on his progress through Franconia and Thuringia, he entered with his whole force the circle of Leipzig, and compelled that city, after a short resistance, to surrender. His design was to advance as far as Dresden, and, by the subjection of the whole country, to prescribe law to the Elector.

He had already approached the Mulda, in order, with his superior force, to attack the Saxon army which was advanced against him as far as Torgau, when the King of Sweden's arrival at Erfurt unexpectedly altered his plan of operations. Threatened to be surrounded by the Saxon and Swedish armies, to which George Duke of Luneburg was expected to lead reinforcements from Lower Saxony, he suddenly turned towards Merseburg, to form a junction with Pappenheim, and to repulse the approaching Swedes.

Gustavus Adolphus had been alarmed at the intrigues which Spain and Austria made use of to detach his allies from him. The more important his alliance with Saxony was, the more cause he had to apprehend the inconstancy of John George. A sincere friendship could never take place between him and the Elector; a prince who was proud of his political importance, and who was accustomed to consider himself as the head of his party, could not without displeasure behold the interference of a foreign power in the transactions of the Empire; and the reluctance with which he saw the arrival of this unwelcome stranger, could only be conquered by the extreme danger of his territories. The increasing influence of the King in Germany, his authority over the Protestant states, the evident proofs which he betrayed of his ambitious designs, and which were sufficient to excite the attention of all the states in the Empire, raised a thousand alarms in the Elector's breast, which the Imperial emissaries knew how to nourish and increase. Every immediate act of the King, and even the most reasonable demands which he made of the princes

of the Empire, gave birth to bitter complaints from the Elector, which threatened a speedy breach; even among the generals of both armies there appeared, so often as they acted in union, marks of that jealousy which divided their sovereigns. John George's natural aversion to the war, and his still lingering attachment to Austria, favoured the efforts of Arnheim, who continued to correspond with Wallenstein, and laboured incessantly to effect a private treaty between his master and the Emperor: if his remonstrances were long disregarded, the event proved that they were not entirely without effect.

Gustavus Adolphus, naturally apprehensive of the consequences which the defection of so powerful an ally would have upon his future existence in Germany, left no means untried to prevent this disastrous step; and his remonstrances had hitherto not entirely failed. But the formidable power with which the Emperor seconded his deceitful projects, and the calamities with which he threatened Saxony in case of refusal, might at length overcome the Elector's firmness, should his country be left exposed; and his indifference to so powerful an ally might destroy the confidence of the other powers towards the King of Sweden. This consideration prevailed upon the King to yield to the pressing entreaties of the Elector, and to sacrifice for the safety of his ally his most brilliant projects. He had already resolved on making a second attack upon Ingolstadt; and the weakness of the Elector of Bavaria gave him hopes to be able to compel that exhausted enemy to a neutrality. An insurrection of the peasantry in Upper Austria opened him a pas-

sage into that country, and the Emperor's capital might be in his possession before Wallenstein had time to render it assistance. But all these splendid hopes were postponed in consideration of an ally, who neither merited such a sacrifice by his worth or good will; who, on the most pressing occasions, only sought to promote his own interests; and who was important only from the evil he could occasion, not from any services he could render. Who can refrain from indignation when he learns, that Gustavus Adolphus's march to relieve such a friend, for ever put a period to the exploits of that great hero?

He immediately assembled his troops in the circle of Franconia, and followed Wallenstein's army through Thuringia. Bernard Duke of Weimar, who was detached against Pappenheim, joined the King at Arnstadt, where he now saw himself at the head of 20,000 veteran troops. At Erfurt he took leave of his consort, who was destined to behold him again at Weissenfels, but not until he had been encircled in his shroud! Their anxious adieu foreboded an everlasting separation.

He reached Naumburg on the 1st of November 1632, before a corps detached by Wallenstein could arrive at that place. From all quarters crowds flocked from the neighbouring country to behold the hero, the avenger, and to view the great king who a year before appeared in that country as a guardian angel; loud expressions of joy every where accompanied him, and the favour of touching the sheath of his sword and the hem of his garment was anxiously sought for. The King was moved by this innocent tri-

bute which the sincerest gratitude and admiration paid him; "Is it not," said he to one of his attendants, "as if this people would deify me? Our affairs go on well, but I fear that divine vengeance will punish me for this idle farce, and sufficiently convince the foolish multitude of my weak mortality." How amiable does Gustavus appear before he takes his leave of us for ever! Thus hesitates the Agamemnon of Grecian tragedy to tread the purple which veneration had spread under his feet. In the summit of his fortune he still respected the judging Nemesis, and rejected a homage which belongs only to immortality.

In the mean time Wallenstein had advanced to meet the King as far as Weissenfels, determined, even though it should cost a battle, to maintain his winter-quarters in Saxony. His inactivity before Nuremberg exposed him to suspicion, as if he was unwilling to risk a contest with the northern hero, and his reputation was endangered should he a second time avoid a battle; his present superiority of troops, though much less than during the encampment at Nuremberg, gave him the hopes of obtaining a victory if he was able compel the King to a battle previous to the latter's junction with the Saxons. But his present reliance was not built upon the superior number of his troops, but on the assurances of his astrologer Seni, who had read in the stars that the Swedish monarch must terminate his career in the month of November*. Besides this, there

* This favours a little of the marvellous; perhaps the author's admiration of Plutarch and other ancient writers,

were between Camburg and Weissenfels narrow defiles formed by a ridge of hills, and the river Saal, which rendered it extremely difficult for the Swedish army to advance, and could be defended by a small number of troops. The King had now no other choice but to penetrate with rapidity through these defiles, or to make his retreat through Thuringia, and to sacrifice the greater part of his troops in a desolated country, which was in want of every necessary. The diligence, however, with which Gustavus Adolphus took possession of Naumburg, rendered this abortive, and it was now Wallenstein himself who awaited the attack.

But he found he was deceived in this expectation, when the King, instead of advancing to Weissenfels, took every measure to intrench himself at Naumburg, and there to await the reinforcement which the Duke of Luneburg was on the point of leading to him. Undecided whether he should advance upon the King through the narrow passes between Weissenfels and Naumburg, or remain inactive in his camp, he called a council of war to consult the opinion of his most experienced generals: none of these thought it prudent to attack the King in his advantageous position, and the preparations which the latter made to intrench his camp, plainly showed that it was not his intention soon to forsake it. But it was equally impossible to prolong the campaign on the approach of winter, and to fatigue, by continual encampments, an army which so much

together with his theatrical turn, might have led him to adopt a tradition which, though possible, is very highly improbable. *Trans.*

wanted repose: all voices declared for terminating the campaign the sooner, as the important city of Cologne, on the Rhine, was threatened with danger by the Dutch troops; and the enemy's progress in Westphalia and the Lower Rhine demanded the most effectual aid in those quarters. Wallenstein yielded to the force of these arguments; and convinced that he had no farther attack to fear on the King's part at this season of the year, he put his troops into winter-quarters, yet in such a manner as to be enabled to assemble them on the shortest notice. Pappenheim was detached with a great part of the army to the assistance of Cologne, and had orders upon his march to take possession of the fortress of Moritzburg near Halle. Different corps took up their quarters in the most convenient places in the neighbourhood, that the enemy's motions might be on all sides observed. Count Colloredo guarded the castle at Weissenfels, and Wallenstein with the remainder of his troops posted himself near Merseburg, between Flossgraben and the Saal, whence his intention was to march through Leipsic, to cut off the Saxons from the Swedes.

Scarce had Gustavus Adolphus received information of Pappenheim's departure, when he instantly broke up his camp at Naumburg, determined to fall upon the enemy, which was now weakened by one half. He advanced by rapid marches towards Weissenfels, where the intelligence of his approach was made known to Wallenstein, who heard of it with astonishment; but a sudden resolution must now be formed, and Wallenstein had taken no measures. Although the Imperialists could collect only 12,000 men to

oppose the enemy, which was 20,000 strong, yet they might expect to be able to maintain their position until the return of Pappenheim, who had at furthest advanced only to Halle, five miles distant*. Messengers were instantly dispatched to recall him, and Wallenstein immediately advanced into the extensive plain which lies between the trenches and Lutzen, where he awaited the King in full order of battle, and by this position cut him off from Leipsic and the Saxon auxiliaries**.

Three cannon shots which Count Colloredo fired from the castle of Weissenfels announced the King's approach, and upon this concerted signal, Wallenstein's light troops, under the command of the Croatian General Isolani, advanced to possess themselves of the villages which lay upon the Rippach. Their weak resistance did not interrupt the enemy's march, who passed the village of Rippach (so called from the rivulet of that name), and formed above Lutzen in order of battle opposite the Imperialists. The high road which leads from Weissenfels to Leipsic is intersected between Lutzen and Markranstadt by the trench which stretches from Zeitz to Merseburg, and joins the Elster with the Saal; upon this canal were placed the left wing of the Imperialists, and the right of the King of Sweden, but in such a manner that the cavalry of both armies extend-

* The author means German miles, each of which consists of four English. Trans.

** The country about Lutzen is a dead flat. The trenches which the author mentions were small canals, intended to convey timber to save land-carriage, and were impassable for cavalry and infantry. Trans.

ed themselves upon its other side. Wallenstein's right wing had encamped northwards behind Lutzen, and to the southward the left wing of the King's; both armies extended their fronts along the high road which intersected them, and divided their order of battle. But Wallenstein, to the great disadvantage of his opponent, had during the night before the engagement taken possession of this road, and deepened the trenches on both sides, defending them with musketeers, so that they could not be passed without difficulty and danger. Behind them was formed a battery of seven large cannon to support the fire of the musketry, and seven smaller pieces were posted at the windmill a little behind Lutzen, upon an eminence, from whence the plain could be swept; the infantry, divided into five large and unwieldy brigades, was formed at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of the high road, and the cavalry covered the flanks; the baggage was sent to Lutzen, that it might not disturb the movements of the army, and the ammunition-waggons alone remained behind the line. To conceal the weakness of the Imperial forces, all the boys and drivers were mounted and joined to the left wing, and this only until the arrival of Pappenheim's troops. The entire of this order was arranged during the darkness of the night; and before day appeared, every thing was ready for the enemy's reception.

On the same night Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the opposite plain, and formed his troops in order of battle. His disposition was the same by which he had the year before conquered at Leipzig; small squadrons intercepted his line of in-

fantry, as did musketeers that of his cavalry. The whole army was formed upon two lines, the trenches on the right and in the rear, the road in front, and the town on the left; in the centre the infantry was formed under Count Brahe, the cavalry on the wings, and the artillery in front; the left wing was entrusted to a German hero, Bernhard Duke of Weimar, who commanded the German cavalry, and on the right the King led his Swedes, to excite the competition between both nations. The second line was formed in the same manner, and behind it was a corps of reserve under Henderson a Scotchman.

In this position they awaited the fatal morning to begin a contest which the long delay, more than the choice or the number of the troops, was destined to render bloody and decisive. The expectations of all Europe, which were disappointed in the camp before Nuremberg, were now to be satisfied on the plains of Lutzen. Two such generals so similar in consequence, in fame, and in ability, had not yet opposed each other in the whole course of the war in a decisive battle, or rendered the issue so dubious. Europe, on the following morning, was to behold its greatest general and a victor opposed to the vanquished. Although the genius of Gustavus Adolphus, or the want of talents in his opponents, conquered at Leipsic and the Lech, that question must again be debated on the following day. The morning was to decide the Emperor's choice of Wallenstein's merit; and the greatness of his services was to repay the price at which they had been purchased; each man was jealous of the reputation of his general, and under every cuirass were

excited those passions which actuated their commander. The victory was doubtful, but the carnage was certain; each side knew its enemy's strength, and the fear which was in vain endeavoured to be suppressed, gave a glorious proof of mutual strength.

Darkness still covered the silent plain, and the approaching morning gave anxiety an awful delay to anticipate impending destruction and hope. Heavy on both sides passed the night, still more heavy expectation in every breast.

At length the dreadful morning appeared; but an impenetrable fog, which spread over the plain, still delayed the attack until noon. The King, in front of his army, knelt and performed his devotions; the whole army, after his example, falling on their knees, struck up a melodious hymn accompanied by military music. The King then mounted on horseback, and only clad in a leathern doublet and a cloth coat (for a wound which he had formerly received prevented him from wearing a coat of mail), rode through the ranks to inspire the troops with a courage which the doubts of his own breast contradicted. "*God with us,*" was the word on the part of the Swedes; "*Jesus Maria*", with the Imperialists. About eleven o'clock the fog began to disperse, and the hostile forces were in sight of each other; Lutzen at that moment was discovered on fire, which had been done by the orders of Wallenstein, that he should not be outflanked on that side. The charge was now sounded, the cavalry advanced, and the King's infantry set itself in motion against the trenches.

Received by a tremendous fire of musketry and

heavy artillery, these Intrepid battalions persevered in their attack; the enemy's musketeers left their posts, the trenches were passed, even the batteries were taken, and immediately turned against the Imperialists; they advanced still further with irresistible impetuosity; the first of Wallenstein's five brigades was thrown into confusion, soon after the second, and the third already began to betake itself to flight. But here Wallenstein's presence of mind exerted itself; he instantly rallied his troops, supported by three regiments of cavalry the flying brigades, formed anew, and attacked the Swedes. A murderous conflict ensued. The nearness of the enemy did not permit firing, nor the fury of the attack give any time for loading; man fought against man, and the useless discharge of small arms was exchanged for the pike and the sword. Overpowered by numbers, the exhausted Swedes at length gave way and retreated over the trenches, by which they lost the battery they had but just possessed themselves of; a thousand dead bodies already covered the plain, without any ground being gained.

In the mean time the King's right wing, led on by himself, had fallen upon the enemy's left; the first shock of the heavy cuirassiers of Finland dispersed the lightly mounted Polanders and Croats who had formed upon that wing, and their disorderly flight spread confusion and consternation among the remainder of the cavalry. At this moment the King was informed that his infantry had retired over the trenches; and also that his left wing was thrown into confusion by the enemy's cannon from the windmill. He imme-

diately detached General Horn in pursuit of the enemy's left, which was defeated, while he himself hastened at the head of the regiment of Stenbock to repair the disorder of his left. His noble charger immediately carried him over the trenches, but the squadrons could not follow so quickly; and only a few horsemen, among whom was Francis Albert Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, were able to keep up to the King. He flew to the spot where his infantry were in the greatest confusion, and while he looked for the place where the enemy's line could be attacked to advantage, his nearness of sight led him too close to them. An Imperial corporal remarking that the attendants every where made way for him, immediately ordered a musketeer to take his aim: "Fire at him," cried he; "that must be a man of distinction." The soldier fired, and the King's left arm was shattered. At that moment the squadrons came up with a confused cry of: "*The King bleeds, the King is shot*" which spread universal terror and consternation among them. "It is nothing; follow me," cried the King, collecting his whole strength; but overcome by pain, and ready to faint, he requested of the Duke of Lauenburg, in French, to lead him, without being seen, from the tumult. While the latter proceeded towards the right wing with the King, and made a long circuit to avoid exposing this discouraging spectacle to the disordered infantry, Gustavus received a second shot in the back, which deprived him of his remaining strength. "Oh, my friend! I am gone," were his dying words: save your own life! He immediately fell from his horse: pierced by several

shots, and abandoned by his attendants, he expired amidst the Croatian plunderers. His charger, covered with blood and flying without its master, soon convinced the Swedish cavalry of the King's fall, and they furiously rushed on to rescue this prize from the enemy; a dreadful conflict ensued about his dead body, which was buried under a heap of the slain *.

* Thus died the most accomplished of heroes; the only conqueror, perhaps, who ever made conquests in his own defence. I am far, however, from thinking he was free from ambition when he undertook the war against the Emperor. Piety (though not, perhaps, without a degree of affection), heroic intrepidity in the field, consummate policy in the cabinet, and admirable humanity, were the leading features of a man who was more fortunate, both in his life and death, than any character of whom we read in history.

Some men have so little known him (for no good history of his exploits has hitherto appeared in England, that of Hart being by no means well executed), as to give Charles the Twelfth's victories in Poland the superiority over those of Gustavus in Germany. But besides that the former was a barbarian, whose cruelty and insolence would disgrace the most brilliant successes, he had by no means the enemy to cope with that his predecessor had; the *Muscovites* were not yet transformed into those *Russians* who, under a Munich and a Potemkin, have in our days not only been the terror of the Turks, but, even contrary to expectation, combated and conquered the Prussian troops, then the first in the world. Gustavus Adolphus must have been an extraordinary general to have so easily overcome the Austrians, who, though often vanquished, have been for centuries, perhaps, the most warlike people in Europe.

Had he not sullied his deeds by refusing to reinstate the unfortunate Elector Palatine, his character would, to this day, have been perfect. But what character can, above all, resist ambition, a passion-rooted in all ages and conditions, and infinitely more powerful than love itself? *Trans.*

The terrible intelligence soon ran through the Swedish army; but instead of diminishing the courage of these intrepid troops, it only rendered them furious. The Swedes now thought only of revenge, and no one valued his life when the King fell; the Upland, Smaland, Finland, East and West Gothland regiments attacked the enemy's left wing a second time, which yielded to General Horn but a short resistance, and was completely beaten out of the field. Bernard Duke of Weimar now assumed the command of the Swedish army, upon the death of Gustavus Adolphus, and inspired it with the same sentiments. The left wing was immediately rallied, and attacked the right of the Imperialists with impetuosity; the artillery at the windmill, which had made so destructive a fire upon the Swedes was taken by the Duke and turned against the enemy; the centre also of the Swedish infantry advanced anew under the Duke and Knyphausen against the trenches, which they passed fortunately, and a second time made themselves masters of the battery of seven cannons. The attack was now renewed with redoubled fury upon the enemy's centre, which gradually resisted less and less; and even accident assisted the bravery of the Swedes to complete the defeat: the Imperial powder waggons blew up, and by the terrible explosion the grenades and bomb-shells were carried into the air. The enemy, now in confusion were apprehensive of being taken in the rear, while the Swedish brigades attacked them in front; they became spiritless, seeing their left wing beaten, their right on the point of giving way, and their artillery lost. The battle appear-

ed to be decided, and the fate of the day depended only upon a moment: Pappenheim at this critical juncture arrived with his cuirassiers and dragoons; every advantage gained was lost, and the battle began anew.

The order which recalled that general to Lutzen reached him in Halle while his troops were employed in plundering that town. It was impossible to collect the scattered infantry with the suddenness which his pressing orders and impatience required. But, without waiting for them, he ordered eight regiments of cavalry to mount, and at their head he advanced in full gallop to Lutzen. He arrived at a proper time to remedy the disorder of the Imperial left wing, which was routed by Gustavus Horn, and to engage in the combat. With rapid presence of mind he rallied the fugitives, and led them once more against the enemy. Excited by his furious impetuosity, and impatient to confront himself with the King, who, as he imagined, commanded that wing; he broke into the Swedish ranks, which, exhausted by their victory, could not oppose to him a vigorous resistance. The Imperial infantry, also exhausted, was encouraged by Pappenheim's sudden arrival, and Wallenstein immediately profited by this circumstance to form the line again. The Swedish battalions, formed in deep order, were, after a desperate conflict, repulsed over the trenches, and the twice-lost cannon a second time rescued. The entire yellow regiment, the most distinguished on this dreadful day, lay dead upon the spot which had been the scene of their intrepidity. A regiment in blue shared the same fate, which Count Piccolomini attacked with the

Austrian cavalry and overcame after a desperate resistance. Seven different times did this intrepid general renew the attack; seven horses were shot under him, and he was pierced by six musket-balls. He nevertheless would not quit the field of battle until led by the general retreat of the whole army. Wallenstein himself was seen riding amid a shower of the enemy's bullets with cold intrepidity, encouraging the necessitous, applauding the brave, and intimidating the fugitives. His men fell upon each side of him, and his mantle was perforated by several shots. Another destiny, however, awaited him; and fate had not resolved to terminate his career on the same bed with Gustavus Adolphus.

Pappenheim, the bravest soldier of the Austrian army and of the church, was not so fortunate. An ardent desire to meet the King's person in battle had led him into the thickest tumult where he thought he would least fail of meeting his noble enemy. Gustavus had also expressed a wish to encounter this respectable antagonist; but the desires of both remained unsatisfied, and both heroes equally fell. Pappenheim was pierced by two musket balls in the breast, and was obliged to be taken by force from the combat. While the men were conveying him behind the line, it was whispered in his ears that he whom he sought lay death upon the plain. When the truth of this report was confirmed his eyes sparkled with joy. "Let Wallenstein know," cried he, "that I die, not with sorrow, but, on the contrary, with pleasure, since I am certain that the most implacable enemy of my religion has fallen on the same day with me."

With Pappenheim ended the fortune of the Imperialists. The cavalry, already beaten and again rallied, no sooner missed their intrepid leader than they abandoned the field of battle in disorder. The right wing fell into equal confusion, except a few regiments, which the bravery of their colonels, Goetz, Terzky, Colloredo, and Piccolomini, compelled to keep their ground. The Swedish infantry rapidly profited of the enemy's confusion. To fill up the openings which the slaughter had made, they formed both lines into one, which made the last decisive attack. A third time they crossed the trenches, and a third time took the artillery which was posted behind them. The sun was setting when both lines closed: the action became warmer, and exhausted strength still endeavoured to exert itself to profit by the last precious moments of the day. It was in vain that despair displayed itself; neither side could yield, neither side could conquer; and tactics here expended all their efforts. Darkness at length put an end to the battle, which animosity would willingly have continued, because neither could find its enemy. The armies separated by a tacit agreement, the trumpets sounded, and each, claiming the victory, quitted the field.

The artillery on both sides, being abandoned by their horses, remained the whole night upon the field, as the prize of whoever should maintain it. But Wallenstein, in his haste to depart from Leipsic and Saxony forgot to secure his part. Soon after the battle was ended, Pappenheim's infantry, consisting of six regiments which could not in sufficient time follow their

general, appeared on the field; but the work was already done. A few hours earlier this considerable reinforcement might perhaps have decided the battle to the Emperor's advantage, and it was still able, by maintaining the field, to save Wallenstein's artillery, and conquer the Swedes. But there was no order for them to act; and, uncertain as to the issue of the battle, they retired to Leipsic, where they expected to find the army.

Wallenstein had retreated thither, where he was followed by the broken remains of his troops the next morning, without cannon, without colours, and almost without arms. It appears that the Duke of Weimar gave the Swedish army some time to repose, after the toils of this bloody day, between Lutzen and Weissenfels, sufficiently near the field of battle to oppose any attempt which the enemy should make to recover it. Of both armies, above 9000 men were killed, a still greater number were wounded; and among the Imperialists in particular scarce a man returned unhurt from the battle. The entire plain of Lutzen, as far as the trenches, was covered with the dead, the dying and the wounded. Many of the first nobility had fallen on both sides; even the Abbot of Fulda, who had mingled himself in the combat as a spectator, paid for his curiosity and his misplaced zeal with his life. History is silent with regard to prisoners; a proof of the animosity of both armies, which neither gave nor took quarter.

Pappenheim expired the day following at Leipsic, in consequence of his wounds; an irreparable loss for the Imperial army; which this ex-

cellent warrior so often led to victory. The battle of Prague, at which he was colonel, together with Wallenstein, opened his career. Dangerously wounded, he impetuously threw himself with a few troops upon an enemy's regiment, and lay several hours for dead under his horse in the field, until his own party discovered him while they were plundering. He conquered the rebels of Austria, though 40,000 strong, with a small detachment, in three different battles, he long delayed Tilly's defeat at Leipsic by his bravery, and carried the victorious arms of the Emperor to the Elbe and to the Weser. His impetuous disposition, which defied every danger, and was capable of any attempt, rendered him the most powerful arm in the Imperial army; but he was unfit for the supreme command. The battle of Leipsic was, according to Tilly himself, lost by his hasty ardour. He also stained his hands in blood during the storming of Magdeburg. His disposition, which had been improved by his youthful application and numerous travels, had grown ferocious under arms: on his forehead two red streaks were perceptible, with which nature had marked him at his birth: these appeared whenever in a passion, even in his later years; and superstition easily persuaded itself that the future calling of the man was marked upon the forehead of the child. Such a servant had the best grounded claims to the gratitude of both the lines of Austria, but he did not survive the most brilliant mark of it. The messenger was already on his way from Madrid to bring him the order of the Golden Fleece when death seized him at Leipsic.

Although the *Te Deum* of victory was sung both in the Austrian and Spanish territories, Wallenstein openly confessed his defeat by the diligence with which he abandoned Leipsic, and soon after all Saxony, and renounced his intentions of taking up his winter-quarters in that country. It is true he made one more weak attempt to dispute the honour of the victory, and detached his Croats next morning to the field; but the aspect of the Swedish army, which stood there in order of battle, immediately dispersed these ravaging bands; and the Duke of Weimar, by the possession of the field, and soon after by the capture of Leipsic, had an undisputed claim to the victory.

But a dear victory, a melancholy triumph! It was after the fury of the battle had subsided, that the importance of the loss sustained was felt, and the joy of the victors was converted into a silent and deep melancholy. He who had led them to the charge was no more returned: he lay dead among the bodies of the common men. After a long, and almost vain, search, the royal corpse was at length discovered near the great stone which had, a century before, been seen between Lutzen and the trenches, but which, from the melancholy disaster of this day, still bears the name of the Swedish Rock. Covered with blood and wounds so as to be scarce known, trodden under horses' feet, and stripped of his decorations and his clothes, he was taken out from under a heap of the dead, convoyed to Weissenfels, and there delivered up to the lamentations of his troops and the last embraces of his queen. The first tribute was paid to vengeance;

but that passion was now succeeded by affection, and displayed itself in an universal lamentation: the regret of individuals was lost in the universal sorrow. She generals, struck with stupefaction, gazed upon his bier, and all the calamities which his progress had caused were buried in oblivion*.

The Emperor, as we are informed by Khevenhiller**, displayed symptoms of great emotion upon being shown the King's doublet covered with blood, of which he had been stripped during the battle. "Willingly," exclaimed he, "had I granted the unfortunate King a longer life, and a free retreat into his own country, if Germany was in peace!" But when a more modern Catholic author of distinguished merit does not confirm this humane anecdote, which vanity would excite in the most unfeeling breast, and might be compared to the tears which Alexander shed for the fate of Darius, it excites in us a distrust of the merits of his hero, or, what is still worse, of his own ideas of virtue. But such praise is still much with one who wished to acquit himself of regicide!

It was scarce to be expected that the powerful inclination of men to the extraordinary would leave the fate of a Gustavus Adolphus to the common course of nature. The death of such a formidable enemy was too important an event not to leave the opposite party an easy occasion to express a suspicion of the Emperor's being capable of executing whatever promoted his interests.

* His body was conveyed by his queen to Sweden, and interred at Stockholm. *Trans.*

** A monk who wrote the Emperor Ferdinand's life.

Trans.

But the Emperor made use of a foreign army in the execution of that black deed, and it was generally believed that the assassin was Francis Albert Duke of Saxe Lauenburg. The latter's rank permitted him a free and unsuspected access with the monarch, and his dignity placed him above the suspicion of treachery. It consequently requires only to be proved that this prince was capable of such an atrocity, that he was excited to it, and actually committed it.

Francis Albert, the youngest of four sons of Francis Duke of Lauenburg, and related by his mother to the race of Vasa, had, in his early days, found a favourable reception at the Swedish court. Some impropriety which he had committed in the apartment of the Queen dowager against Gustavus Adolphus, it is said, drew from that fiery youth a box on the ear, which, though immediately repented of and apologised for in the fullest manner, laid the foundation of an implacable revenge. Francis Albert afterwards entered the Imperial service, where he commanded a regiment, formed a close connexion with Wallenstein, and acted as a private negotiator at the Saxon court, which did not add to his reputation. Without any sufficient cause being assigned, he went to the Swedish camp at Nuremberg to offer himself as a volunteer. By his zeal for the Protestant cause, and a disposition apparently amiable, he gained the King's affections, who, in vain warned by Oxenstierna, exhausted all his favours upon the new-comer. He soon after came to the battle of Lutzen, where he accompanied the monarch as an evil demon, and did not part until he fell. Amid the enemy's balls he was safe,

because he bore a green sash, the colour of the Imperialists. He was the first who brought to Wallenstein the intelligence of the King's death. Soon after this battle he entered into the Saxon service, and at the death of Wallenstein, being accused as an accomplice of that general, he saved himself, only by changing his religion, from being executed. At length he appeared anew as commander of an Imperial army in Silesia, and died of his wounds before Schweidnitz. It requires indeed some self-command to pronounce such a character innocent; but when the atrocity of such a crime is considered, it must be acknowledged that it cannot justly be imputed to him, at least according to appearances. It is known that Gustavus Adolphus exposed himself as a common soldier in every danger, and where thousands fell he might also meet his death. How he met his fate is still a question: but in such a case above all others appearances justify us in forming at least a doubt.

By whatever hand he fell, this extraordinary destiny must appear as a work of a strange nature. History, so often occupied by ungrateful subjects, and compelled to relate the uniform consequences of human passions, is sometimes consoled by sudden appearances, by which the imagination is elevated to a higher order of things. Man truly often beholds with regret the violent interference of destiny upon such occasions, which at once deprives us of the creation of an age. But the sudden effect which is made by these unexpected circumstances afterwards gives way to the rules of reason. In this manner we are struck with Gustavus Adolphus's sudden disappear-

ance from the political theatre, which no human prudence could have foreseen: in one day the life and soul of his party—in the next, suddenly taken away, he forsakes it, and it remains inconsolable for his loss. The Protestants, who had formed such great expectations from their invincible leader, now saw them annihilated. But it was not the benefactor of Germany who entirely fell at Lutzen; the part which he had acted for its liberties he terminated; when he ended his brilliant career, it was taken up by others, and the spirit which he had imbibed was now put in motion of itself. The Protestant party now began to consult its own resources, and the Swedish, no longer capable of acting as an oppressive ally, returned from a first to a second part.

It is certain that the King of Sweden's ambition laboured to attain an authority in the centre of the Empire, which was inconsistent with its liberty. His aim was the Imperial throne; a dignity which, possessed by him, and supported by his activity, might have caused much greater evils than were to be feared from the House of Austria. A Protestant by birth, and by principle an enemy to the Papists; born in a foreign country, and brought up in the maxims of absolute power, he was not so well calculated to maintain the liberty of the German states. The coercive homage which, among others, the city of Augsburg was obliged to render to the *Swedish crown*, betrayed the *conqueror*, not the *deliverer* of the Empire; and that city soon became prouder of the title of a royal residence, than that of a free Imperial city. His open designs upon the electorate

of Mayence, which he in the commencement intended to bestow on the heir apparent of Brandenburg, as a dower with his daughter Christina; and afterwards to his chancellor and favourite, Oxenstierna, unequivocally declared his intentions towards the Empire. The Protestant princes in alliance with him had claims to his gratitude, which could only be satisfied at the expense of the Catholic chapters; and perhaps a plan had already been formed to divide the conquered provinces, after the manner of the barbarian hordes who had overthrown the Roman empire, among the Swedes and Germans in the army. In his conduct towards the Elector Palatine Frederic, he had entirely belied the character of a hero, and the sacred duty of a protector; the Palatinate was completely in his possession, and honour required him to restore this province which was rescued from the Spaniards. But by a subtlety unworthy of a great mind, and which disgraces the character of a deliverer, he eluded this duty. He regarded the Palatinate as a conquest which he had made from the enemy, and thereby imagined he was entitled to treat it at his pleasure; he therefore surrendered it as a favour, and not as a debt, to the Elector, and that as a fief of Sweden, under conditions which diminished its value by one half, and rendered that prince a despicable dependant. One of the conditions to which he made the Elector subscribe was: „That “after the war he should, like the other princes, contribute to maintain a part of the Swedish army.” This lets us immediately conceive the fate which awaited Germany from the continuance of the King's success; a sudden death se-

cured the Empire in its liberties, and saved his own reputation if he was not disposed to suffer the mortification of seeing his allies in arms against him, and losing all the fruits of his victories in a disadvantageous peace. Saxony seemed already disposed to forsake him; Denmark beheld his progress with jealousy; even France, the most potent of his allies, was alarmed at his growing greatness; and at the time when he passed the Lech, looked around for other powers by whose assistance his progress might be checked, and the balance of power maintained in Europe.

BOOK IV.

THE weak spirit of union which Gustavus Adolphus excited among the Protestant members of the Empire was dissolved upon his death; the confederacy by that event was restored to its primitive freedom, and must be formed anew. In the former case they lost all the advantages which they had acquired at the expense of so much blood, and exposed themselves to the inevitable danger of becoming the prey of an enemy, to whom, by their union alone, they were equal. Neither Sweden, nor any of the Empire, could singly cope with the Emperor and the League; and by a peace under such circumstances, they might be obliged to receive laws from the enemy; union was therefore the only means by which they could either conclude a peace or continue the war. But a peace sought under the present circumstances, must necessarily prove a disadvantageous one to the allied powers. The death of Gustavus Adolphus inspired the enemy with new hopes, and however evil their circumstances were after the battle of Lutzen, the death of their most formidable opponent was an event so much to the disadvantage of the confederates, and in the Emperor's favour, as to justify the latter in the most brilliant expectations, and encourage him in the prosecution of the war. Its immediate consequence must be a division among the allies; this circumstance alone was great-

ly in favour of the Emperor and the League, and he could not bring himself to consent to a peace which was not entirely to his own advantage, nor by its means to unite the confederates. The most natural measure to be taken was, therefore, the continuation of the war, and union was acknowledged as its surest support.

But how was this union to be renewed? How were the means to be acquired for continuing the war? It was not the power of Sweden, but the talents and personal influence of its late king, which were so formidable; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he could form a small confederacy among the states. With him died every thing which his influence had excited, and the mutual attachment of the states was dissolved; several of them already threw off a yoke which was become irksome; others hastened to resume the authority which they could not dispute with Gustavus Adolphus during his lifetime. Some were tempted by the deceitful promises of the Emperor; others, tired of the calamities of a fourteen years war, were satisfied to conclude any peace whatsoever; the generals of the armies several of them German princes, no longer obeyed a chief, and no one would demean himself so far as to serve under another. All union was dissolved both in the cabinet and the field, and the common cause was in danger of being lost.

Gustavus had left no male heirs to the crown of Sweden; his daughter Christina, then six years old, was the natural heir. The many defects of a regency ill agreed with that activity which Sweden must exert under its present circumstan-

ces; the creative genius of Gustavus Adolphus had brought this feeble and little known country into a rank among the powers of Europe which it had not hitherto possessed, and from which it could not now recede without a shameful confession of its weakness. Although the German war was principally maintained at the expense of Germany, yet the small addition which Sweden made in men and money exhausted the finances of that poor kingdom, and the subject groaned under the burden which was necessarily imposed upon him: the booty gained in Germany enriched only individuals among the nobility and the military, but Sweden still continued poor. For a considerable time, it is true; the national glory rendered these burdens supportable, because the subject expected to be amply recompensed by an advantageous peace; but these hopes ended with the death of Gustavus, and the people called aloud to ease their burdens.

But Gustavus had inspired the men to whom he had left the administration of his kingdom with his own genius. However dreadful the intelligence of his death was to them, they did not lose courage, and that noble assembly displayed the spirit of old Rome when assailed by Brennus and Hannibal; the greater the price of the acquired advantages, the less could they be relinquished; the King could not be sacrificed in vain. The Swedish council of state, divided between the prosecution of a doubtful war, and an advantageous though a disgraceful peace, courageously embraced the cause of danger and honour; and this venerable senate was, with surprise, seen to form the most active preparations.

Surrounded by interior as well as outward enemies, and threatened on all sides with danger, they surmounted every obstacle with as much prudence as courage, while they struggled for existence.

The decease of the King, and the minority of his daughter Christina, renewed the claims of Poland upon the Swedish throne, and King Ladislaus, Sigismund's son, spared no intrigues to gain a party in that kingdom. On this ground the regency at Stockholm did not lose a moment to acknowledge the title of their six year old Queen, and to appoint a guardianship; all officers in the kingdom were ordered to do homage to the new princess, every correspondence with Poland was prohibited, and the proclamation of former kings against Sigismund's heirs, was confirmed by a solemn act. The alliance with the Czar of Muscovy was carefully renewed, in order, by the assistance of that prince, to keep Poland in check. Gustavus's death had terminated Denmark's jealousy, and restored the harmony between those neighbouring states. The enemy's efforts to arm Christian IV. against Sweden, were no longer listened to; and the earnest desire he had of marrying his son Ulrich to the young Queen, added to the dictates of sound policy, inclined him to a neutrality. At the same time promises of friendship and support were made by England, Holland, and France; and the Swedish council of state received powerful encouragement to continue war which had hitherto been maintained with such reputation. However France had cause to behold the King of Sweden's death with pleasure, it saw the necessity of con-

tinuing the Swedish alliance; without exposing itself to the utmost danger, it could not permit the affairs of the Swedes to go to ruin in Germany. Without receiving support, Sweden must be compelled to a disadvantageous peace with Austria, and in that case all the efforts were lost which it cost to contain that dangerous power within bounds; or, in the other case, want and necessity led the troops to provide for their own subsistence in the territories of the Catholic princes, and France would then appear as the betrayer of those states which she had taken under her protection. The death of Gustavus Adolphus, instead of terminating the French alliance with Sweden, rather increased it; and while it was still equally necessary to both, it was much more advantageous to the former. It was after he who had restrained the ambition of France within bounds was no more, that the latter could execute a design upon Alsace, and sell its aid the dearer to the German Protestants.

Strengthened by these alliances, secured in their interior and on their exterior by frontier garrisons and fleets, the regency did not lose a moment to continue the war; and determined to procure, in case fortune attended their arms, a German province at least, as an indemnification of their expenses. Secure amid its seas, Sweden was not much more endangered if its armies were forcibly expelled from Germany, than if they voluntarily retired from it; and the former was as honourable, as the latter measure was disgraceful. The greater the vigour displayed, the more confidence was excited among the allies, the more respect was obtained from the enemy,

and the more favourable conditions were to be expected upon the conclusion of a peace; if they were too feeble to execute all the great projects of Gustavus Adolphus, his example inspired them to exert their utmost, and to yield to nothing but necessity. It is to be lamented that self-interest had so great a share in this otherwise admirable resolution! These who did not suffer by the calamities of the war, but who were rather enriched by it, might well resolve upon its continuance; for it was the German Empire which was in the end to defray the expenses.

But the progress of these successes was retarded by the distance of the Swedish regency from the scene of action, and by the slowness which necessarily accompanies the collegial forms. A leader of abilities was requisite to manage the Swedish affairs in Germany, and he possessed of the power to regulate both war and peace according to his own disposition. This minister must be invested with a dictatorial power, and with the authority of the crown which he represented, in order to maintain its dignity, to create union among the common operations, to give his orders the greater effect, and fully to supply the place of the monarch whom he succeeded. Such a character was found in the person of Oxenstierna, the chancellor and prime minister, and, what is more, the deceased King's friend, who was fully acquainted with his secrets, versed in German politics and in the different interests of Europe, and, without comparisson, was the most capable of following the plan of Gustavus Adolphus.

Oxenstierna was already upon his way to Upper Germany, in order to assemble the four higher

circles, when he was surprised by the intelligence of the King's death. Sweden had now lost its King, Germany its deliverer, and Oxenstierna the author of his fortune, the friend of his soul, and the object of his ideas. But while this calamity affected him so severely, he who raised himself by the power of his genius superior to that misfortune, was the only person to remedy it; his penetration saw every obstacle which opposed his designs, and provided a remedy for them; the states, discouragement, the intrigues of hostile courts, the defection of the confederates, the jealousy of their chief, and the aversion of the princes to foreign influence, were all obstacles in his way. But the situation of affairs which discovered the evil, also provided him with the means of healing it, it depended upon raising the drooping spirits of the weaker states, to oppose the private machinations of the enemy, to allow for the jealousy of the more powerful confederates, to excite the friendly powers, particularly France, to activity; but before all things to collect the ruins of the German confederacy, and unite the divided power of the Protestants by a close and durable union. The terror with which the loss of their leader inspired the German Protestants could equally promote a close alliance with Sweden as a sudden peace with the Emperor, and it depended only upon circumstances which of those two alternatives should be embraced; all was lost by inactivity, and only the confidence he placed in himself could excite a similar sensation among the Germans. All the attempts of the Court of Austria to detach the latter from the Swedish alliance proved fruit-

less, when men beheld their true advantages, and began an open breach with the Emperor.

But before these measures were pursued, and the necessary points settled between the regency and its minister, a precious moment for the activity of the Swedish army was lost, of which the enemy profited to the best advantage; the Emperor had then an opportunity of totally destroying the Swedish power in Germany, had he followed the prudent counsels of Wallenstein. The latter advised him to proclaim a general amnesty, and to meet the Protestant states with favourable conditions. In the first consternation occasioned by the death of Gustavus Adolphus, among the party such a declaration would have had the most powerful effect, and have brought the wavering states back to the allegiance of the Emperor. But intoxicated by sudden success, and insatuated by Spanish counsels, he determined to rely upon the more brilliant issue of his arms, rejected all mediation, and hastened to augment his forces. Spain, enriched by the grant of a tenth of the ecclesiastical possessions, which the Pope consented to, supported the Emperor with considerable subsidies, negotiated in his favour with the Court of Saxony, and raised troops in Italy which were destined to be employed in Germany. The Elector of Bavaria also considerably increased his army, and the Duke of Lorraine's restless disposition did not permit him to remain quiet in this sudden favourable reverse of fortune. But while the enemy prepared to profit by the calamity which befel the Swedes, Oxenstierna spared no effort to repair the disaster.

Less apprehensive of an open enemy than of

the jealousy of several of his allies, he left Upper Germany, which he had secured by means of conquests and alliances, and hastened to prevent the Lower German states from either a total defection, or a private confederacy among them which would have been equally pernicious to Sweden. Offended by the importance with which the Chancellor undertook the management of transactions, and exasperated in the highest degree by receiving law from a Swedish gentleman, the Elector of Saxony began anew to promote a dangerous division; and it was now a question whether to submit unconditionally to the Emperor, or to form a third party in Germany under the head of the Protestants. Similar sentiments were perceived in Ulrich Duke of Brunswic, who sufficiently expressed them by prohibiting the Swedes to recruit in his territories, and inviting the states of Lower Saxony to Luneburg, in order to form a confederacy under him. The Elector of Brandenburg alone, jealous of the influence which Saxony had acquired in the north of Germany, showed some zeal for the interests of the Swedish crown, which he intended to procure for his son. Oxenstierna, in fact, met with the best reception at the Court of John George, but empty promises of friendship and alliance were all he was able to obtain from that prince. He was more fortunate with the Duke of Brunswic, to whom he was able to speak in bolder terms. Sweden was then in possession of the archbishopric of Magdedurg, whose bishop had the power of assembling the states of Lower Saxony; but the Chancellor maintained the rights of his crown, and this spirited conduct rendered the intended

assembly abortive. He however failed in erecting a Protestant confederacy, and he was obliged to content himself with some few unsteady allies in the circles of Saxony, and weaker assistance in the south of Germany.

While the Bavarians were in possession of the Danube, an assembly of the four higher circles was appointed to meet at Heilbron; whither the deputies of twelve free cities repaired, together with a crowd of doctors, princes, counts, and other nobility; foreign powers also sent their ambassadors to his meeting, France, England; and Oxenstierna appeared at it with all the splendour of the crown which he represented; he opened the meeting by a speech, and conducted the deliberations. After he had obtained from the states the most solemn promise of friendship, perseverance, and union, he proposed to them to declare the Emperor and the members of the League formally as enemies. But however wide the Swedes were able to render the breach between the Emperor and the states, the latter were unwilling, by so decisive a step, to exclude every way of negotiation, and put themselves entirely in the Swedish power; they thought a formal declaration of war unnecessary, and their obstinate resistance at length overcame the Chancellor. Warmer disputes arose respecting the third and principal article, which concerned the means of prosecuting the war, and the quotas which the states were to furnish; Oxenstierna's maxim, to throw the principal burden upon the states, did not so well agree with the latter, who were desirous of contributing as little as possible. Here Oxenstierna experienced, as thirty Emperors had

done before him, that of all difficult matters, it is the hardest to obtain money from Germans. Instead of granting the necessary sums for the new armies, they expatiated upon the calamities which had been already caused, and demanded an account of the expenditure of former sums, instead of submitting to new taxes. The bad humour into which the Chancellor's demands for money had thrown the states, raised numberless difficulties; and the irregularities committed by the troops on their march, and in their quarters, excited loud complaints.

Oxenstierna had learned in the service of two absolute sovereigns, too little of the formalities of a republican form of constitution to be able upon this occasion to restrain his impatience. Ready to negotiate whenever he saw the necessity of it, and firm in his determination whenever he had formed it, he did not consider the want of talents in most men: naturally prompt, he was so now from policy, for every thing depended upon concealing the real weakness of Sweden under a firm tone, and instead of receiving law, to maintain the appearance of superiority. It is not therefore surprising, if, amid such perplexities of German doctors and states, he was entirely out of his sphere; and unacquainted with the slowness which distinguishes the German character in all its public deliberations, he was brought almost to despair. Without respecting a custom to which the most powerful of the Emperors were obliged to conform, he rejected all written deliberations, which were so conformable to the national slowness; he could not conceive how ten days could be spent in de-

bating a measure which he thought would have been decided upon its being first proposed. However ill he treated the states, he found them very complaisant in granting his fourth motion, which concerned himself; when the necessity of appointing a director for the new confederacy was deliberated, that honour was unanimously voted to the Swedes, and he was humbly requested to take upon his enlightened understanding the burden of superintending the common affairs. But, to prevent his abusing the authority conferred upon him, there were appointed, not without French instigation, a number of assistants, who were in reality spies, to regulate the expenditure of the common treasure, the raising of troops, and the marching and quartering of the army. Oxenstierna long resisted this limitation of his authority, which rendered extremely difficult the execution of any plan requiring diligence and secrecy; but at length so far prevailed as to be uncontrolled master of his own measures in warlike matters. The Chancellor now mentioned the delicate point of indemnification, which the Swedes expected, from the gratitude of their allies, after the conclusion of the war; and he flattered himself he should gain Pomerania, to which the views of the Swedes were principally directed. But he could obtain only a general promise that no party should be abandoned at a future peace. The liberality with which the states made promises to the Chancellor sufficiently shows that their caution arose not from their respect for the constitution of the Empire. They had almost voted to him the archbishopric of Mayence, which he held already in his possession as a conquest, and it was

with difficulty that the French ambassador could overcome this impolitic and disgraceful measure. However Oxenstierna was deceived in his expectations, he had gained the chief point, the direction of the whole, for his crown; and he made the union of the four upper circles more compact, and obtained a subsidy of 2,500,000 rix-dollars for the yearly support of the war.

So much condescension on the part of the states merited the gratitude of the Swedes. A few weeks after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Elector Palatine, Frederic, ended his unfortunate days by a broken heart. This prince, who has a claim to our pity, had, during eight months, continued in the court of Gustavus, and wasted in it the small remains of his patrimony*. He had nearly attained the object of his desires, and had every reason to form hopes of future good fortune, when death snatched away his benefactor. But what he regarded as his greatest calamity had the best consequences for his heirs. Gustavus Adolphus might delay the restoration of his dominions, and impose hard conditions upon that gift; but Oxenstierna, to whom the friendship of England, Holland, and Brandenburg, was a matter of importance, must necessarily do justice. He therefore, at this assembly at Heilbron, restored that part of the Palatinate which was already conquered, and promised to restore the future conquest to Frederic's successor; Mannheim excepted, in which a Swedish garrison was to

* His two sons, Princes Rupert and Maurice, soon after entered into the service of their uncle Charles I. at the commencement of the civil wars. *Trans.*

remain until the indemnification of the Swedish expenses. The Chancellor did not confine his liberality to the Elector Palatine's family; other allied princes received, though somewhat smaller, proofs of Swedish munificence, which that crown exercised with to little expense to itself. The duties of impartiality, the most sacred of the historian, compel him to this acknowledgment, not much to the honour of the champions of German liberty. However the Protestant princes of Germany could boast of the justice of their cause and the purity of their zeal, they acted chiefly from interested motives; and the desire of plundering became equally violent with the fear of being plundered. Gustavus Adolphus soon discovered that he could derive more advantage from this selfishness than from a patriotic zeal, and he did not hesitate to satisfy it. Each of the confederate princes received assurances of being put in possession of either present or future conquests which should be made of the enemy, and death alone prevented him from performing this promise. What prudence recommended, the King had imposed as a necessity upon his successor; and when the latter was obliged to prolong the war, he must in such a case divide the conquests with the princes, and place all his dependance upon the general confusion which he was desirous of exciting. Thus he promised to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel the abbacies of Paderborn, Corvey, Munster, and Fulda; Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Franconian bishoprics; and the Duke of Wirtemberg, the ecclesiastical possessions and Austrian counties which lay situated in his territories, all under the title of Swedish investi-

ture. The Chancellor himself increased this strange and disgraceful spectacle for the German Empire by not being able to restrain his contempt: "Let it be recorded," cried he once, "in our archives, that a German prince made such a request of a Swedish gentleman, and upon German ground."

After such preparations it was possible to take the field, and prosecute the war with fresh vigour. Soon after the victory at Lutzen the troops of Saxony formed a junction with those of Lüneburg, and having joined the Swedish army, the Imperialists were totally driven from Saxony. The united armies now divided. The Saxons directed their march towards Lusatia and Silesia, to act, with Count Thurn, against the Imperialists: a part of the Swedish army was led by the Duke of Weimar to Franconia, and another by George Duke of Brunswick, to Lower Saxony and Westphalia.

The conquests on the Danube and the Lech were, during Gustavus Adolphus's progress to Saxony, defended by Count Birkenfeld, and the Swedish general Banner, against the Bavarians. But too weak to oppose the bravery of the latter, which was sustained by the experience of the Imperial general Altringer, they were under the necessity of calling the Swedish general, Gustavus Horn, from Alsace. After that experienced hero had subjected the towns of Benfeld, Schlettstadt, Colmar, and Hagenau, to the Swedish arms, he left their defence to the Rhingrave Otto Lewis, and hastened over the Rhine to form a junction with Banner's army. But, although it consisted of 16,000 men, it could not prevent

the enemy from taking an advantageous position on the borders of Suabia, gaining Kempten, and being joined by seven regiments from Bohemia. In order to protect the important banks of the Lech and the Danube, the Rhingrave Otto Lewis was called from Alsace, where he could scarce defend himself against the exasperated peasantry. He was obliged to reinforce the army of the Danube; and as this succour was yet insufficient, Duke Bernard of Weimar was called to that quarter.

That general had, soon after the opening of the campaign in 1633, taken possession of the city and bishopric of Bamberg, and threatened Wirtzburg with the same fate. Upon the invitation of Gustavus Horn, he immediately began his march towards the Danube, beat a Bavarian army under John de Werth on his way, and joined the Swedes near Donauwerth. These numerous armies, commanded by excellent generals, threatened Bavaria with a terrible inroad. The entire bishopric of Eichstadt was overrun, and Ingolstadt was ready to fall into the Swedish hands by treachery. Altringer's activity was restrained by the express orders of Wallenstein; and left without assistance from Bohemia, he could not oppose the enemy's progress. The most favourable circumstances combined to promote the fortune of the Swedish arms in this quarter, when all on a sudden the army was stopped by a quarrel among the officers.

Every thing had hitherto been acquired in Germany by arms; even Gustavus Adolphus owed his greatness to the discipline of his army, their bravery and persevering courage amidst

every danger and difficulty. However wisely his plans were formed in the cabinet, it was by the army they were executed; and the extended views of the leader continually imposed new burdens upon the troops. All the decisive advantages in this war were obtained by a barbarous sacrifice of the soldiers lives in winter campaigns, forced marches; storms, and pitched battles; and it was Gustavus Adolphus's maxim never to decline a victory, provided it cost no more than men. The soldiers became sensible of their importance, and naturally required a share of the booty which was purchased at their expense: but instead of this they hardly received their pay; and the avarice of their leaders or the necessities of the state generally consumed the best part of the money which was raised either in contributions or in the conquered states. The soldier had no other prospect for all his toils but the doubtful chance of plunder or promotion, in both of which he was often disappointed. Fear and hope had indeed suppressed every open complaint during the life of Gustavus Adolphus; but after his death the murmurs were loud and universal, and the soldier seized the most dangerous moment to remind his superiors of his importance. Two officers, Pfuhl and Mitchesal, who had, during the King's life, been considered as restless characters, afforded, at the camp upon the Danube, an example which was soon after followed by all the officers of the army. They agreed among themselves not to obey any order until they had received their arrears which were due for a considerable time, and also a present to each in either money or land according to his

services. "Immense sums," said they, "were daily raised in contributions, and all this was kept in a few hands. They were obliged to serve in the severest weather without being rewarded for their incessant toil. The soldiers are blamed at Heilbronn, but nobody talks of rewarding them. The whole world resounds with the noise of battles and sieges, but these victories are all their work."

The number of the malcontents increased, and they even invited the armies on the Rhine and in Saxony to follow their example, by letters which were fortunately intercepted. Neither the representations of the Duke of Weimar, nor the reproaches of his severer associates, could suppress this mutiny, which discipline seemed to increase. They required that each regiment should receive a number of cities, that they might obtain payment of their arrears. Four weeks were given to the Chancellor to consider their demands, and in case of refusal, they declared that they would pay themselves, and never more draw a sword for Sweden.

This bold demand was made at the very time that the military chest was exhausted, and credit at a low ebb; and it was necessary speedily to remedy it before the contagion spread among the rest of the troops. Among all the Swedish generals there was only one who had influence and consideration among the soldiers to terminate this quarrel. The Duke of Weimar was the favourite of the army, and his prudent moderation gained him the attachment of the troops, while his military experience excited their admiration. He now undertook to quell the

mutiny; but feeling his importance, he seized the favourable moment of first stipulating for himself, and turning the Swedish Chancellor's embarrassment to his own advantage.

Gustavus Adolphus had already flattered him with hopes of the dutchy of Franconia, which was to be formed from the bishoprics of Bamberg and Wirtzburg; and he now insisted upon the performance of this promise. He at the same time required the chief command of the army, as Swedish generalissimo. This abuse which the Duke made of his influence so exasperated Oxenstierna, that on the first moment he offered to dismiss him the Swedish service. But he soon after thought better of it, and, instead of sacrificing so important a general, to attach him by any price to the Swedish interest. He immediately gave him up the Franconian bishoprics, together with two fortresses of Wirtzburg and Koenigshofen, as an investiture of the Swedish crown, and at the same time engaged to maintain him in the possession. The command which he required was refused under a specious pretext. The Duke did not long delay to display his gratitude; and by his influence and activity, tranquillity was soon restored to the army. Great sums of money were divided among the officers, together with large estates, whose value amounted to 5,000,000 of dollars, and to which they had no other claim than the right of conquest. In the mean time the opportunity was lost for a great undertaking, and the united generals now separated to oppose the enemy in another quarter.

After Gustavus Horn had made a short inroad into the Upper Palatinate, he directed his march

towards the borders of Suabia, where the Imperialists had considerably reinforced themselves, and threatened to ravage Wirtemberg. But terrified by his approach, the enemy retired to the lake of Bode, only to bring the Swedes after them. A possession on the entrance of Switzerland was desirable, and the town of Costnitz seemed peculiarly fitted to introduce him to the alliance of the cantons. Horn immediately undertook to besiege it; but not having sufficient artillery, which he was obliged to transport from Wirtemberg; he could not prosecute the undertaking with so much vigour as to prevent the enemy from throwing a sufficient reinforcement into the place, which was easily effected upon the lake. He accordingly raised the siege after an ineffectual attempt, and directed his attention to a pressing danger upon the Danube.

At the Emperor's instigation, the Cardinal Infant, brother to Philip IV. King of Spain, and viceroy of Milan, raised an army of 14,000 men, which was destined, independent of Wallenstein, to act upon the Rhine and defend Alsace. This army now appeared in Bavaria under the command of the Duke of Feria, a Spaniard; and that they might be used immediately against the Swedes, Altringer was ordered to join them. Upon the first intelligence of their approach, Horn had recalled the Count Palatine of Birkenfeld from the Rhine to his assistance; and, after he had joined him at Stockach, advanced boldly upon an army of 30,000 men which the enemy had collected. The latter had marched over the Danube towards Suabia, where Horn at one time was so near them that both armies were only half a mile

from each other. But instead of accepting the offer of a battle, the Imperialists retired over the Black Forest towards Brisgau and Alsace; where they arrived in sufficient time to relieve Brisach, and to stop the victorious career of the Rhinegrave Otto Lewis. This general had a short time before taken the Forest cities, and, supported by the Palatine of Birkenfeld, who delivered the Lower Palatinate, and beat the Duke of Lorraine, had obtained the Swedish arms once more the superiority in that quarter. But now he was obliged to yield to the powerful numbers of the enemy. Horn and Birkenfeld, however, soon came to his assistance, and the Imperialists, after a short triumph, were driven out of Alsace. The severity of the autumn destroyed most of the Italians on their retreat, and the general himself, the Duke of Feria, died of a broken heart.

Meanwhile the Duke of Weimar had taken up his position on the Danube, with eighteen regiments of foot and 140 squadrons of horse, both to cover Franconia and watch to motions of the Imperial-Bavarian army upon that river. No sooner had Altringer withdrawn his troops to join the Italians than the Duke profited by his absence, crossed the Danube, and immediately appeared before Ratisbon. The possession of this city decided the undertaking of the Swedes in Bavaria and Austria; it obtained them a firm footing on the Danube, secured them a retreat in case of misfortune, and it was by its possession only that they could expect to make a durable conquest in the country. Tilly's dying advice was, to defend Ratisbon; and Gustavus Adolphus lamented it as an irreparable loss that

the Bavarians had been beforehand with him in taking possession of this place. Maximilian's consternation was excessive when Duke Bernard appeared before the city, and prepared to besiege it.

The garrison consisted only of fifteen companies of foot, yet that was a sufficient number to delay the enemy, if supported by faithful and warlike inhabitants. But this was the very enemy which the Bavarian garrison had most reason to fear. The Protestant inhabitants of Ratisbon, equally jealous of their civil and religious rights, had submitted to the Bavarian yoke with impatience, and long wished to be delivered from it. The Duke's arrival before their walls filled them with the sincerest joy, and it was to be dreaded that they would support the besiegers by an interior tumult. In this embarrassment the Elector made most pressing instances to the Emperor and Wallenstein to assist him with even 5000 men. Seven messengers successively were sent by Ferdinand, with this order, to Wallenstein, who promised immediate assistance, and even announced to the Elector the near approach of 12,000 men, commanded by Gallas, but forbade that general, under pain of death, to hasten. The Bavarian governor of Ratisbon, in the hope of speedy relief, took the best measures of defence. The Catholic peasantry were armed, the Protestant inhabitants disarmed and closely watched, lest they should execute some hostile design against the garrison. But as no relief appeared, and the enemy's artillery incessantly cannonaded the walls, he consulted his own safety and that of his garrison by a favourable capitulation, and abandon-

ed the Bavarians and the clergy to the conqueror's mercy.

With the possession of Ratisbon the Duke's projects expanded, and reached beyond Bavaria itself. He intended penetrating as far as Austria, arming the Protestant inhabitants against the Emperor, and to restore them to their liberty of conscience. He had already taken Straubingen, while another Swedish general subdued the north bank of the Danube. At the head of his Swedes, bidding defiance to the severity of the weather, he reached the mouth of the river Iser, which he passed in the presence of the Bavarian general Werth, who was here encamped. Passau and Linz now trembled, and the embarrassed Emperor redoubled his orders to Wallenstein to hasten to the assistance of Bavaria. But here the Duke of Weimar's progress was stopped: having the river Inn in front, which was defended by a number of strong castles, and behind, two enemy's armies; being in a disaffected country, where no tenable position covered his rear, and the frost permitted no intrenchments, and threatened by the entire army of Wallenstein, which had at length begun to approach the Danube, he made a timely retreat, to avoid the danger of being cut off from Ratisbon, and surrounded by the enemy. He hastened over the Iser and the Danube to maintain the conquests in the Upper Palatinate, and even, if necessary, to give the Imperialists battle. But Wallenstein, who had never intended to perform great exploits upon the Danube, did not await his approach, and before the Bavarians could well express their joy, he had returned into Bohemia. The Duke thus end-

ed his glorious campaign, and granted his troops their well-earned repose in winter-quarters upon an enemy's country.

While the war was maintained with such superiority in Suabia by Gustavus Horn, the Palatine Birkenfeld, General Baudissin, and the Rhinegrave Otto Lewis, upon the Upper and Lower Rhine, and by the Duke of Weimar upon the Danube, the reputation of the Swedish arms was sustained in Lower Saxony and Westphalia, by the Duke of Luneburg and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel with equal glory. The former took the fortress of Hameln after the bravest resistance, and the united Swedish and Hessian army obtained a brilliant victory at Oldendorf over the Imperial General Gromsfeld. Count Wasaburg, a natural son of Gustavus Adolphus, showed in this battle that he was worthy of his extraction; sixteen cannon, the whole baggage of the Imperialists, together with seventy-four colours, fell into the Swedish hands; about 3000 of the enemy remained dead on the spot, and almost an equal number was taken prisoners; the town of Osnabrück submitted to the Swedish Colonel Knyphausen, and Paderborn to the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; but on the other hand Bückeburg, a very important place for the Swedes, was gained by the Imperialists. The Swedish arms were seen victorious in almost all quarters of Germany, and the year after Gustavus Adolphus's death showed no marks of the loss which had been sustained in the person of that great hero.

By a review of the important circumstances which distinguished the campaign of 1633, we are justly astonished at the inactivity of a man

from whom the greatest expectations were formed. Of all the generals who distinguished themselves in this campaign, there was none who could be compared with Wallenstein in experience, talents, or reputation, and yet he immediately disappeared after the battle of Lutzen; the death of his great antagonist now left him master of the theatre, and all Europe expected from him exploits which should efface the memory of his defeat, and display his skill in the art of war. Nevertheless he remained inactive in Bohemia; while the Emperor's losses in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and the Rhine, loudly called for his assistance; a behaviour unintelligible both to friends and enemies, while he was the terror, and at the same time the Emperor's last hope. He had withdrawn into Bohemia with unaccountable rapidity after his defeat at Lutzen, and instituted the severest inquiry into the conduct of his officers in that battle; such as the council of war declared guilty were executed without pity, those who had behaved with bravery were princely rewarded, and the memory of the deceased was eternized by splendid monuments: he oppressed the Imperial provinces with immoderate contributions and by winter-quarters, which he purposely did not take up in an enemy's country, that he might exhaust the Austrian territories. Instead of being the first to open the campaign at the head of his formidable army in the spring of 1633, and displaying his great abilities, he was the last that appeared in the field, and it was then an hereditary province of Austria which he made the theatre of war.

Of all the possessions of Austria, Silesia was ex-

posed to the greatest danger. Three different armies, a Swedish under Count Thurn, a Saxon under Arnheim and the Duke of Lauenburg, together with one of Brandenburg under Burgsdorf, had at the same time carried the war into that country; they had already taken possession of the most important places, and even Breslaw embraced the party of the allies. But it was this number of generals and armies which saved the country; for the jealousy of the commanders, and the mutual hatred of the Swedes and Saxons, did not permit them to act with union. Arnheim and Thurn quarrelled for the supreme command; the Brandenburgers and Saxons detested the Swedes, whom they looked upon as troublesome strangers, and who were to be got rid of as soon as possible; the Saxons, on the contrary, lived upon a very intimate footing with the Austrians, and the officers of both armies often visited and entertained each other; the Imperialists were openly permitted to remove their effects, and many did not conceal their having remitted large sums to Vienna. Among such allies the Swedes were sold and betrayed, and with such a bad understanding no design of importance could be executed; General Arnheim was also frequently absent, and when he returned to the army Wallenstein appeared with a formidable force upon the frontiers.

He was at the head of 40,000 men, when the allies had only 24,000 to oppose him; they, nevertheless, resolved to give him battle, and advanced to Munsterberg, where he had intrenched himself. But Wallenstein remained motionless during eight days; he then forsook his intrench-

ments, and slowly advanced against the enemy; but though the latter did not decline meeting him, he neglected the opportunity of engaging. The care with which he, upon this occasion, avoided a battle, was represented as the effects of fear, but the established reputation of Wallenstein might brave such a suspicion; the vanity of the allies did not let them perceive that he was engaged in the same cause with themselves, and that he magnanimously saved them defeats, merely because a victory over them would now be of no service to him. But in order to convince them that his inaction did not proceed from a fear of their resentment, he put to death the commander of a castle who fell into his hands, for having dared to resist in a untenable place.

Both armies remained at the distance of a musket-shot during nine days, when Count Terzky appeared before the allied camp, accompanied by a trumpeter from Wallenstein, and invited General Arnheim to a conference. The purpose of this was, notwithstanding Wallenstein's superiority, to request a cessation of arms for six weeks. "He was come," he said, "to conclude a lasting peace with the Swedes and the princes of the Empire; to pay the troops, and obtain satisfaction for every individual; every thing lay in his power, and if his measures were delayed to be confirmed, he would join the allies, and (as he privately intimated to Arnheim) "depose the Emperor." At a second parley he explained himself more fully to Count Thurn. "All the Bohemian privileges," he declared, "should be confirmed, the exiles recal-

"led and reinstated in their properties, and he
"would himself be the first to restore his share
"of the confiscations; the Jesuits should be ban-
"ished as the authors of all the disturbances and
"oppressions; the crown of Sweden should be in-
"demnified its expenses, and all the troops
"which could be spared upon both sides should
"be led against the Turks." The last condition
explained the whole mystery: "*That if he should
"obtain the crown of Bohemia, the exiles would
"have cause to applaud his generosity; perfect
"toleration of religion should prevail in the king-
"dom; the Palatine family should be restored to
"its rights; and he would content himself with
"Moravia as a compensation for the loss of
"Mecklenburg. The allied army should then
"march to Vienna, and compel the Emperor to
"confirm these conditions."*

The plan which had occupied him for years, and was concealed by the most impenetrable silence, was now at once discovered; every circumstance also taught him that no time was to be lost in its execution. It was only that blind confidence in the good fortune and superior genius of Wallenstein which could fascinate the Emperor, and led him, contrary to the remonstrances of Spain and Bavaria, as well as at the expense of his own power, to confer upon this imperious man such an unlimited command. But this belief of Wallenstein's being invincible, was much weakened by his long inactivity, and at last almost totally destroyed by the defeat at Lutzen; his enemies renewed their intrigues against him at the Imperial court, and the Emperor's disappointment and discontent obtained their remon-

strances a more favourable reception with that monarch. Wallenstein's whole conduct was now reviewed with a malicious criticism; his dangerous haughtiness, and his disobedience to the Emperor's orders, were brought to that jealous prince's remembrance; recourse was had to the complaints of the Austrian subjects of his insupportable oppression; his fidelity was rendered suspicious, and dangerous hints were thrown out of his private designs. These complaints, which were supported by the General's conduct, did not fail to make a deep impression upon Ferdinand; but the step had been taken, and the great power which was conferred on Wallenstein, he could not be deprived of without danger: gradually to diminish it, was all that remained for the Emperor, and to do this with effect, it must, above all things, be divided, and the dependance upon the General's attachment must be removed; this power had, however, been conferred in the agreement which had been made with him, and the Emperor's own signature secured him the absolute command of the troops. As this pernicious agreement could neither be broken nor observed recourse was had to stratagem. Wallenstein was the Imperial generalissimo in Germany, but his authority extended no further, and over a foreign force he could exercise no authority; a Spanish army was accordingly raised in Milan, and under a Spanish general introduced into Germany. Wallenstein now ceased to be longer indispensable because he had been unfortunate, and there was not wanting a support against him in case of necessity.

Wallenstein instantly perceived whence proceed-

ed the blow, and where it was directed. In vain did he protest against this innovation with the Cardinal Infant; the Spanish army advanced, and he was compelled to detach General Altringer with a reinforcement to join it. He was, indeed, by his injunctions, so well able to restrain the latter, that the Italian army acquired no reputation in Alsace and in Suabia; but this powerful measure of the Court had aroused him from his security, and warned him against the approach of danger. To avoid being a second time deprived of his command, and losing the fruits of all his labours, he must hasten to execute his design; he secured the attachment of his troops by removing the suspicious officers, and by his munificence to the rest; to the welfare of the army he had sacrificed every other order in the state, and all considerations of justice and humanity; and he accordingly expected its ready acquiescence in return. On the point of exhibiting an unparalleled instance of ingratitude against the author of his good fortune, he founded all his own hopes upon the gratitude which was to be shown to himself.

The leaders of the Silesian armies had no authority to conclude a peace with Wallenstein, and even the cessation of hostilities they would agree to only for a fortnight. Before Wallenstein had disclosed his secret to the Swedes and Saxons, he had the precaution to secure himself the protection of France in his new undertaking; for this purpose a private negotiation was carried on by means of Count Kinsky, with the French ambassador Feuquieres in Dresden, but with extreme caution; and it terminated entirely to his advan-

tage. Feuquieres received orders from his court to promise Wallenstein every assistance on the part of France, and to offer him, in case of need, a considerable pecuniary aid.

But it was this excessive caution to secure himself on all sides which led him to ruin. The French ambassador with astonishment discovered that a plan, which above all others should be kept secret, had been communicated to the Swedes and Saxons; the Saxon ministry was well known to be in the Emperor's interests, and the conditions offered to the Swedes fell too short of their expectations to be accepted. Feuquieres, therefore, found it inconceivable how Wallenstein could in earnest depend upon the support of the former, or the discretion of the latter; he communicated his cares and doubts to the Swedish Chancellor, who was equally distrustful of Wallenstein's designs, and by no means relished his offers. Although it was no secret to him that Wallenstein had formerly entered into a similar negotiation with Gustavus Adolphus, yet he could not conceive the possibility of bringing a whole army to revolt, or of executing his extravagant projects; such an immense design, and such imprudent conduct, seemed but ill to agree with the dark suspicious character of Wallenstein, and it was the rather attributed to deceit, as his sincerity was more doubtful than his prudence. Oxenstierna's doubts were at length communicated to Arnheim, who, confident of Wallenstein's sincerity, had repaired to the Chancellor at Gelnhausen in order to ask his permission to lend some of his best regiments for the execution of the plan: they began to suspect that this offer was only a

snare to disarm the allies, and betray the flower of their troops into the Emperor's hands. Wallenstein's notorious character sanctioned this bad suspicion, and the contradictions in which he afterwards involved himself entirely deceived them. While he courted the alliance of Oxenstierna, and even demanded his best troops, he declared to Arnheim that he must begin by expelling the Swedes from Germany; and while the Saxon officers, confident of the sincerity of the truce, repaired in great numbers to his camp, he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize upon them. He first broke the cessation of arms, which he with much difficulty renewed several months afterwards: all confidence was lost in his sincerity, and his whole conduct was regarded as the offspring of treachery and low cunning, with a view to weaken the allies and recover himself; but this he actually effected, while he daily augmented his army, and the allies lost half their troops by bad management and desertion. But he did not profit of his superiority as was expected in Vienna; when an important event was near, he on a sudden renewed the negotiation; and when the truce lulled the allies into security, he as suddenly commenced hostilities. All these contradictions proceeded from the double and opposite designs of ruining the Emperor and the Swedes at the same time, and concluding a separate peace with the Saxons.

Rendered impatient by the ill success of his negotiation, he at length determined to display his strength; besides that the necessities of the Empire and the increasing displeasure of the Imperial court did not admit any further delay. Before

the last cessation of arms, General Holk fell from Bohemia into the circle of Meissen, ravaged the country with fire and sword, drove the Elector to his fortresses, and took Leipsic. But the truce in Silesia put a period to his successes, and the consequences of his intemperance brought him at Adorf to the grave. After the recommencement of hostilities, Wallenstein made a movement as if he designed to penetrate through Lusatia into Saxony, and spread a report that Piccolomini was already marched towards that quarter; Arnheim immediately broke up his camp to follow him and succour the Electorate; by this he exposed the Swedes, who were encamped in small numbers at Steinau on the Oder, and this was exactly what Wallenstein desired. He permitted the Saxon general to hasten before him sixteen miles towards Meissen, and on a sudden returned to the Oder, where he surprised the Swedes in the utmost security; their cavalry were first beaten by General Schafgotsch, and their infantry was fully surrounded by Wallenstein's army which followed. Wallenstein gave Count Thurn half an hour to consider whether he should defend himself with 2500 men against more than 20,000, or surrender at discretion; but no alternative could find a place in such a situation; the whole corps surrendered, and the completest victory was obtained without bloodshed: colours, baggage, and artillery, all fell into the conqueror's hands: the officers were taken into custody, and the private man compelled to serve. After a fourteen years banishment and numberless reverses of fortune, the author of the Bohemian insurrection and of this destructive war, the famous

Count Thurn, was in the hands of his enemies. With a bloodthirsty impatience the arrival of this great criminal was awaited in Vienna, where the terrible triumph of sacrificing so distinguished a victim to public justice was already anticipated. But depriving the Jesuits of that pleasure was a more agreeable triumph, and Thurn obtained his liberty; fortunately for him, who knew more than was prudent to divulge in Vienna, and Wallenstein's enemies were also *his*; a defeat would sooner have been forgiven at Vienna than this disappointed hope. "What could I have done with that madman?" said Wallenstein to those who called him to account for this ill-timed magnanimity; "would to heaven" added he, "the enemy's generals were all such as Thurn! at the head of the Swedish army he will render us much better service than in prison."

The victory at Steinau was followed by the taking of Lignitz, Gross-Glogau, and even Frankfort on the Oder. Schafgotsch, who remained in Silesia to complete the subjection of that province, blockaded Brieg and threatened Breslaw, but in vain, as that free city was jealous of its privileges, and devoted to the Swedes. Wallenstein detached the Colonels Illo and Goetz to the Warta, in order to penetrate through Pomerania as far as the coasts of the Baltic; and Landsberg, the key of Pomerania, was actually taken by them. While he made the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pomerania tremble for their dominions, Wallenstein with the rest of his army entered Lusatia, where he took Goerlitz by storm, and compelled Bautzen to surrender: but his intention was to terrify the Elector of Saxony not to pro-

secure the advantages he had obtained. He also, with the sword in his hand, offered to treat with Brandenburg and Saxony, but without success, his repeated contradictions having destroyed all confidence in him. He would now have turned his arms against the unfortunate Saxony, and have pursued his projects by force, if circumstances had not compelled him to abandon that country. The Duke of Weimar's victory on the Danube, which threatened Austria itself with danger, immediately required his presence in Bavaria; and the expulsion of the Swedes and Saxons from Silesia left him no further pretext for disobeying the Emperor's command, and leaving the Elector of Bavaria at the enemy's mercy. He accordingly advanced against the Upper Palatinate, and his retreat freed Saxony for ever from this formidable enemy.

Wallenstein had delayed saving Bavaria as long as possible, and evaded the Emperor's orders under various pretexts. After repeated entreaties he detached to Count Altringer, who endeavoured to maintain the Lech and the Danube against the Duke of Weimar and Horn, some regiments from Bohemia, but with express orders to act defensively. Whenever the Emperor or the Elector required assistance he referred them to Altringer, who, he said, had full powers of acting; but he privately tied this general by the severest instructions, and even threatened him with death if he should exceed his orders. After the Duke of Weimar was advanced before Ratisbon, and the Emperor as well as the Elector renewed their demands of aid, he pretended to send General Gallas with a considerable army to the

Danube; but this was not executed, and the Swedes took the bishopric of Eichstadt, together with Ratisbon, Straubingen, and Cham. When he could at length oppose the orders of the court no longer, he moved slowly towards the frontiers of Bavaria, where he recovered Cham from the Swedes. But he no sooner learned that the Swedes were preparing to make a diversion, by means of an inroad of the Saxons into Bohemia than he immediately took advantage of that pretext to march, without giving the least notice, into that kingdom. Every consideration, he said, must be postponed to the defence of the hereditary dominions; and thus he remained firm in Bohemia, which he defended as if his own property. The Emperor reiterated his orders to him for proceeding towards the Danube, and preventing the Duke of Weimar from occupying a position upon the frontiers of Austria. He, however, ended the campaign for this year, and again took up his winter-quarters in that exhausted kingdom.

Such a continued insolence, so unexampled a contempt of the Imperial orders, and so visible a neglect of the common cause, joined with such an equivocal behaviour towards the enemy, must have at length excited the Emperor's belief of the unfavourable reports which were spread throughout Germany. Wallenstein had for a long time succeeded in justifying his criminal correspondence with the enemy, under the colour of moderation, and persuaded his indulgent monarch that the end of his private interviews was to obtain a peace for Germany. But however secret he thought his designs, the whole of his con-

duct justified the accusations with which his enemies perpetually assailed the Emperor's ears. In order to obtain certain information concerning this affair, the Emperor had already, at different times, sent spies into Wallenstein's camp; but as the latter had the precaution to commit nothing to writing, they returned only with conjectures. But at length the ministers themselves, who had hitherto defended him, upon their estates being equally oppressed with the rest, joined his enemies; and the Elector of Bavaria threatened, that if he was employed any longer, he would himself join the Swedes. The Spanish ambassador also insisted upon his dismissal, and threatened, in case of refusal, to withdraw the subsidies of his crown: and Ferdinand at length found himself obliged to deprive Wallenstein a second time of the command. The Emperor's positive orders soon taught Wallenstein that his agreement with the former was broken, and his dismissal inevitable. One of his inferior generals in Austria, whom he had forbidden, under pain of death, to obey the court, received the Emperor's immediate command to join the Elector of Bavaria; and Wallenstein himself was expressly ordered to send some regiments to join the Cardinal Infant, who was marching with his army from Italy. All these measures convinced him that the design was formed to disarm him by degrees, and then to precipitate him into ruin.

He must now hasten the execution of a plan in self-defence which was originally formed for his aggrandizement. He had delayed it too long, either because the favourable constellations were wanting, or, as he used to answer to the impa-

tience of his friends, "the favourable moment" was not yet arrived: but necessity no longer gave time to wait for the friendly stars. His first step was to try the sentiments of the principal officers, and then experience the attachment of the army, of which he had so long been confident. Three colonels, Kinsky, Terzky, and Illo, had long known the secret, and the two first were allied to him. An equal ambition, an equal hatred to government, and the hopes of an immense recompence, closely united them with Wallenstein, who stooped to the lowest means to increase the number of his dependants. He had once advised Colonel Illo to solicit the title of Count in Vienna, and promised to support his application. But he at the same time wrote privately to the minister to refuse the request, because a number of others who had equal merit might make similar applications. On Illo's return to the camp his first question to him was concerning his success: and when the latter had informed him of his failure, he broke out into the severest complaints against the court. "Our faithful services, then, are thus rewarded!" cried he. "My recommendations are neglected, and your merit denied so small a reward! Who will devote his services to such an ungrateful master any longer? No; for my part, I am henceforward the determined enemy of the House of Austria." Illo coincided with him, and a close connexion was formed between them.

But what was known to those three confidants was long an impenetrable secret to the remainder, and the confidence with which Wallenstein spoke of the attachment of his officers was merely

founded upon his generosity to them, and upon their discontent with the court. But he must convert these doubtful surmises into certainty before he could venture to throw off the mask, and openly oppose the Emperor. Count Piccolomini, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Lutzen by an unexampled intrepidity, was the first on whose fidelity he tried the experiment. He had attached to himself this general by great gifts, and preferred him before all others because born under the same constellations. He declared to him that, exasperated by Ferdinand's ingratitude, and alarmed by the near approach of danger, he was determined entirely to abandon the Emperor's cause, to join the enemy with the best part of the army, and attack the House of Austria in all quarters. He had principally depended upon Piccolomini, and promised him previously the greatest rewards. When the latter had expressed his astonishment at this sudden and surprising offer, and spoke of the obstacles and dangers with which the design was attended, Wallenstein turned his fears into ridicule.

"Such enterprises," said he, "were only difficult at the commencement; the stars were propitious to him, the opportunity was the best which could be wished, and something must be trusted to fortune. His resolution was fixed, and if it could not be otherwise, he would venture upon his scheme at the head of a thousand horse." Piccolomini was cautious not to excite Wallenstein's suspicion by contradiction, and pretended to yield to the weight of his arguments. Such was Wallenstein's infatuation,

that, notwithstanding the warning of Colonel Terzky, he did not doubt the sincerity of the man, who lost not a moment to have this important discovery communicated to the Court of Vienna.

In order to take the last and most important step, he called a meeting of all the commanders of the army, in January 1634, at Pilsen, whither he had marched after his retreat from Bavaria. The Emperor's new directions, no longer to take up winter-quarters in the hereditary states, to recover Ratisbon in the middle of winter, and to take 6000 cavalry from the army in order to reinforce the Cardinal Infant, were points of sufficient importance for the discussion of a council of war; and under colour of this pretext Wallenstein concealed the true purpose of the meeting. Sweden and Saxony were even invited to it, in order privately to conclude a treaty with Wallenstein; and a correspondence was to be commenced with the distant armies. Twenty of the commanders who were cited appeared; but three of the principal ones, Gallas, Colloredo, and Altringer, were absent. Wallenstein repeated his citations to them; but expecting their speedy arrival, he in the mean time proceeded to execute his designs.

He was now entered upon an undertaking of no small difficulty. To declare a nobility, proved brave and jealous of its honour, capable of the most infamous treachery, was making them appear, in the eyes of those who were ever accustomed to consider them as the support of monarchy, the judges of honour, and the guardians of the laws, to be now rebels and traitors.

It was not less difficult to shake to its foundation a power rendered sacred by years, constitution, and religion; to dissolve the enchantment of the senses and the imagination, the formidable guardians of a legal throne; and to annihilate by force that invincible sense of duty which every subject feels towards his native sovereign. But, blinded by the splendour of a crown, Wallenstein never considered the abyss which he was opening for himself; and full of reliance on his own strength, the common fate of great minds, he imagined that he would be able to surmount every obstacle. Wallenstein could see nothing but an army partly indifferent and partly exasperated against the court—an army which was accustomed to follow him with blind obedience, and to receive with awful respect his commands, as the decrees of fate. By the excessive flatteries he received, by the bold calumnies against court and government which a unlicensed soldiery indulged itself in, and which the freedom of the camp permitted, he thought he had learned the true sentiments of the army; and the boldness with which the monarch's measures were criticised, guaranteed to him its attachment upon renouncing his allegiance to so contemptible a sovereign. But what he thought so easily overcome was his most formidable obstacle; all his hopes failed before the sense which the troops retained of their allegiance. Deceived by the profound respect in which he was held, he put every dependance upon his personal greatness, without making a proper difference between himself and the dignity of the station which he filled. Every thing trembled before him while he exer-

cised a lawful authority, while obedience to him was duty, and while his consequence was supported by the majesty of the sovereign. His own greatness could raise terror and admiration, but legal greatness could alone excite respect and obedience. And of this decisive advantage he was deprived the moment he unmasked himself as a traitor. All the bonds of fidelity were destroyed between him and his army so soon as he dissolved the more sacred one which bound him to the throne, and his violation of duty was retorted upon him in the influence which he had obtained among his troops.

Illo undertook to learn the sentiments of the commanders, and prepare them for the step which was meditating. He began with stating the new demands of the court to the general and the army; and by the obnoxious turn which he gave them it was easy to inflame the indignation of the whole assembly. After this well-chosen preface he expatiated with much eloquence upon the merits of the army, and of its general, and upon the ingratitude with which the Emperor intended to requite them. "Spanish influence," he said, "directed every measure of the court: Wallenstein alone had hitherto resisted this tyranny, and therefore exposed himself to the mortal hatred of the Spaniards. To remove him from the army, or to accomplish his death, was," added he, "long the end of their desires; and until they should effect the one or the other they endeavoured to abridge his power in the field. The command was to be given to the King of Hungary, for no other reason than that this prince, as the ready instrument of foreign coun-

"cils, might be led at pleasure, the better to
"promote the Spanish power in Germany. It
"was merely to weaken the army that 6000 men
"were required for the Cardinal Infant; it was
"entirely to destroy them that they were required
"in the middle of winter to lay siege to Ratis-
"bon. Every means of subsisting the army was
"rendered difficult, while the Jesuits and the
"ministers enriched themselves with the treasures
"of the provinces, and squandered the money
"which was intended for the troops. The general,
"abandoned by the court, acknowledged his
"inability to perform his promise with the army.
"For all the services which he had during twenty-two
"years, rendered the House of Austria, for all the pains
"which he had taken, and for all the riches which he
"had expended of his own property to promote the Imperial
"service, a second disgraceful resignation was now
"required of him: but he declared that he never would
"consent to that. He would of his own accord
"give up the command rather than be forcibly
"deprived of it. This," continued the speaker,
"is what he has commissioned me to say. Let
"every one now ask himself if it will be prudent
"to lose such a general. Let each consider who
"will refund him the sums which he has expended
"in the Emperor's service, and where he can
"obtain the reward of his valour, when he, before
"whom it was exerted, is no more."

A general cry that they would not abandon
their commander interrupted the speaker. Four
of the principals were deputed to lay before him
the desires of the meeting, and earnestly to request
he would not leave the army. Wallenstein

made an appearance, of resistance and only yielded after a second deputation. This condescension upon his side seemed to deserve a return upon theirs. As he engaged not to quit the service without the knowledge and consent of the generals, he required from them a written promise to be faithful to him, never to permit a separation, and to defend him to the last drop of their blood. Whoever refused to sign this engagement was to be considered as a traitor, and treated by the remainder as a common enemy. The express condition which was added, "*So long as Wallenstein shall continue to use the army for the Emperor's service,*" seemed to exclude every mistake, and none of the generals hesitated to grant a request so apparently innocent and reasonable.

This paper was publicly read before an entertainment which Field-marshal Illo had ordered for the purpose; and it was intended to be signed on rising from table. The host did his utmost to intoxicate his guests; and it was not until he had effected his purpose that he produced the paper for signature. Most of them wrote their names, without knowing what they signed; only a few, more curious than the rest, threw their eyes over it a second time, and to their astonishment discovered that the clause, "*So long as Wallenstein shall use the army for the Emperor's service,*" was omitted. Illo had artfully substituted a second copy for the first, and left out the above clause. The deceit was open, and many now refused to sign their names. Piccolomini, who saw through the whole cheat, and who only assisted at this meeting to inform the court of its proceedings, forgot himself so much in his cups

as to drink the Emperor's health. But Count Terzky now rose, and declared all were perjured villains who should recede from their promise. His threats, and the idea of the inevitable danger to which those who resisted any longer should be exposed, the example of the majority, and Illo's oratory, at length overcame every scruple, and the paper was signed without exception.

Wallenstein had now effected his purpose, but the unexpected resistance of the generals at once aroused him from the favourite presumption in which he had indulged himself; besides this, most of the names were so illegibly scrawled, that dishonest intentions were manifest. But instead of taking this serious warning into consideration, his pride broke out in loud complaints and reproaches: he assembled the generals the next morning, and renewed the business of the foregoing day; after he had exhausted himself in the severest reproaches against the court, he remarked upon their resistance, and declared that this circumstance would induce him to retract his promise. The generals silently withdrew, and after a short consultation in the antechamber, returned to excuse themselves for their late behaviour, and offered to sign the paper anew.

Nothing now remained but to obtain a similar assurance from the absent generals, or, on their refusal, to seize their persons. Wallenstein renewed his invitation, and pressed them to hasten their arrival, but on their journey they learned the business of Pilsen, which stopped them. Altringer, under the pretext of sickness, remained in the strong castle of Frauenberg; Gallas

made his appearance, but it was only the better, as an eye-witness, to inform the Emperor of the danger which threatened him; the intelligence which he and Piccolomini gave, changed the suspicions of the court into the most alarming certainty; news which arrived from other quarters left no room to doubt, and the rapid change of commanders in Silesia and Austria appeared to be the prelude to some great design. So immediate a danger demanded speedy measures; however, it was necessary to proceed with the regular forms. Orders were accordingly issued to the principal generals, on whose fidelity reliance might be placed, to seize Wallenstein and his associates Illo and Terzky, and keep them safe in confinement: but if this could not be done in a quiet manner, the public danger required that they should be taken dead or alive. At the same time General Gallas received a commission, in which the Emperor's orders were made known to the colonels and officers; the whole army was absolved from its obedience to the traitor, and a new generallissimo was appointed in the person of Gallas. In order to bring back the deluded to their duty, and not to plunge the guilty into despair, a general amnesty was granted for all which had been transacted at Pilsen against the majesty of the Emperor.

General Gallas was not pleased with the honour which was done him. He was at Pilsen, under the person whose destiny he was to decide; in the power of an enemy who had an hundred eyes to watch and to discover his intentions; if Wallenstein once learnt in whose hands he was, nothing could, save him from the effects of the

former's rage and despair. If it was prudent to conceal the Emperor's order's, it was much more difficult to execute them; the sentiments of the generals were uncertain, and it was at least to be suspected, that they would be ready, after the step they had taken, to trust to the Emperor's promises, and at once to relinquish the brilliant expectations they had formed from Wallenstein. It was also a dangerous enterprise to lay hands upon the person of a man who was in a manner considered sacred, who had long exercised supreme authority, who was become the object of the deepest veneration, and was armed with every attribute of outward majesty and interior greatness; whose very aspect inspired terror, and whose wink decided life and death. To seize such a man in the midst of his guards, and in a city entirely devoted to him, as a criminal, and to convert the object of long veneration at once into that of compassion or reproach, was a commission sufficient to deter the boldest: so deep was the fear and the respect which the soldiers entertained of him, that even the atrocious crime of high treason could not eradicate these sentiments.

Gallas perceived the impossibility of executing his commission under the eyes of Wallenstein, and was desirous, before he proceeded further, to consult Altringer. As the delay of the latter began to excite suspicion, Gallas offered to repair to Frauenberg, and as a relation prevail upon him to return; Wallenstein received this mark of his zeal with such satisfaction, that he lent him his own equipage to perform the journey. Gallas rejoiced that his stratagem succeeded, immediately

left Pilsen, while Piccolomini remained to watch Wallenstein's motions; but he did not fail, wherever he went, to use the Emperor's commission, and the declaration of the troops was more favourable than he expected. Instead of bringing back his friend, he sent him to Vienna to inform the Emperor of his danger, and went himself to Upper Austria, which was threatened by the approach of the Duke of Weimar: in Bohemia Imperial garrisons were thrown into the towns of Budweiss and Tabor, and every measure was taken effectually to oppose the designs of the traitor.

As Gallas intended no more to return, Piccolomini determined to put Wallenstein's credulity once more to the test; he demanded permission to bring back Gallas, and Wallenstein suffered himself a second time to be deceived. This inconceivable blindness is only to be considered as the offspring of pride, which never retracted the opinion it had formed of a person, and could not be brought to acknowledge its error; he even sent Piccolomini in his own coach to Lintz, where the latter immediately followed the example of Gallas, and went one step further. He had promised Wallenstein to return: this, however, he did at the head of an army, with the intention of falling upon the former at Pilsen: another army, under General Suys, hastened to Prague, to secure that capital, and defend it against an attack of the rebels. At the same time Gallas announced himself as commander in chief to the different Imperial armies in Germany, and issued orders accordingly; bills were posted up in all the Imperial camps, raising the hue and cry

against Wallenstein and four of his associates, and releasing the troops from their obedience to him.

The example given at Lintz was universally followed; the traitor was generally detested, and forsaken by all the armies. At length, as Piccolomini no longer returned, Wallenstein was undeceived, and he recovered in consternation from his dream; yet he still continued to believe in the predictions of astrology and the fidelity of the army. Immediately after Piccolomini's defection, he gave out an order that no command should in future be obeyed which did not proceed from either himself, Terzky, or Illo; he hastily prepared to advance towards Prague, where he intended to throw off the mask, and openly declare against the Emperor. All the troops were to have assembled before Prague, and instantly to have proceeded from thence into Austria; the Duke of Weimar, who was led into the conspiracy, was to have supported Wallenstein's operations with Swedish troops, and make a diversion upon the Danube; Terzky already hastened towards Prague, and it was the want of horses alone which prevented Wallenstein from following him with the faithful regiments. But while with the most excessive hope he awaited for intelligence from Prague, he received information of the loss of that city, the defection of his generals, the desertion of his troop's, the discovery of his conspiracy, and the sudden march of Piccolomini, who vowed him destruction; all his designs were defeated on a sudden, and his prospects annihilated; he now saw himself alone, forsaken by all to whom he had been a benefactor, and betrayed by those on

whom he placed dependance. But it is in such situations that great characters are proved. Though deceived in all his expectations, he did not abandon one of his designs; he despaired of nothing so long as he himself lived. The period was at length arrived when he wanted that support for which he had so often applied to the Swedes and Saxons, and when every doubt disappeared as to the sincerity of his intentions. After Oxenstierna and Arnheim perceived the truth of his promised intentions and his necessity, they hesitated no longer to embrace the favourable opportunity, and offer him their protection. It was resolved to detach the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg with 4000 men from the Saxons, and the Palatine of Birkenfeld with 6000 Swedes, all chosen troops, to his assistance. Wallenstein left Pilsen with Terzky's regiment, and the few who either were or pretended to remain faithful to him, and hastened to Egra in order to be near the Upper Palatinate and facilitate his junction with the Duke of Weimar. He was not yet acquainted with the decree which proclaimed him an enemy and a traitor; he first received this thunder-stroke at Egra. He still confided in an army which General Schafgotsch prepared for him in Silesia, and flattered himself with hopes that many of those who had forsaken him would return upon the first dawns of success; even during his flight to Egra, so little humility was he taught by sad experience, that he was still occupied by the colossal scheme of deposing the Emperor. It was in these circumstances that one of his attendants asked him leave to offer advice: "Under the Emperor," said he, "your Grace is

"a great and much esteemed lord; joined with the enemy, you are at best but a precarious king. It is not the part of prudence to exchange certainty for uncertainty. The enemy will make themselves masters of your person when the opportunity offers. You will be ever an object of their suspicions, lest you should act one day as the Emperor now does: on that account return to your allegiance while it is yet time."—"And what is the remedy?" said Wallenstein. "You have," replied the other, "40,000 men in arms" (meaning ducats, stamped with the figure of a man in armour): "take them with you, and go straight to the Imperial court; there declare that the steps which you have hitherto taken were merely to put the fidelity of the Emperor's subjects to the test, and distinguish the loyal from the suspicious; and since most showed a disposition to rebel, say you are come to warn his Imperial Majesty against these dangerous men. By this you will make your enemies appear as traitors, your ducats will make you a welcome guest at the Imperial court, and you will be reinstated in your former dignity."—"The advice is good," answered Wallenstein after a pause, "but the d—l trust to it."

While Wallenstein was actively negotiating with the enemy at Egra, consulting the stars and indulging new hopes, the poniard was drawn almost before his eyes which put a period to his existence. The Imperial proclamation which set a price upon his head, had not failed in its effect, and fate ordained that one act of ingratitude should be punished by another. Among his officers, Wallenstein had in particular dis-

tinguished one Leslie, an Irishman, and made his fortune. This man, whether from a sense of duty or a meaner impulse, felt himself called on to execute the sentence against Wallenstein, and to merit the bloody reward. He was no sooner arrived at Egra, in Wallenstein's suite, than he disclosed to the governor, Colonel Butler, and to the Lieutenant-colonel Gordon, two Protestant Scotchmen*, all the dangerous designs which that infatuated man had the imprudence to impart on his way thither. Leslie here found two men fit for his design; they had the alternative of duty or treason, of adhering to their lawful sovereign, or to a fugitive abandoned rebel; and although the latter was an universal benefactor, the choice could not remain doubtful for an instant; they were solemnly bound their allegiance to the Emperor, and this required them to take immediate measures against the common enemy. But not to offend justice, it was determined to deliver up her victim alive, and the conspirators parted with the bold project of taking the General prisoner. This dark plot was covered with the deepest secrecy; and Wallenstein, instead of entertaining the least surmise of his impending destruction, rather flattered himself that he possessed in the garrison of Egra his bravest and most faithful adherents.

At this time were brought him the Imperial proclamations which contained his sentence, and

* Here the author is mistaken. Butler was an Irishman and a Papist; he died a general in the Emperor's service. Though a murderer, he was a man of great piety, and founded at Prague a convent of Irish Franciscans, which still exists. *Trans.*

were made public in all the camps. He now perceived the greatness of the danger with which he was surrounded, the impossibility or a retreat, his dreadful situation, and the absolute necessity of delivering himself up to the enemy. He imparted to Leslie the chagrin of his afflicted soul, and the violent effect of the moment drew from him the last remaining secret. He disclosed to this officer his intention of delivering up Egra and Elnbogen, the passes of the Kingdom, to the Palatine of Birkenfeld; and at the same time informed him of the Duke of Weimar's approach, of which he had advice the same night by a messenger. This discovery, which Leslie immediately communicated to the other conspirators, altered their plan; the pressing danger no longer permitted dilatory measures; Egra might every moment fall into the enemy's hands, and a sudden revolution release their prisoner. To prevent this, they determined to assassinate him and his associates the next night.

In order to execute this design with the less noise, it was determined that the act should be perpetrated at an entertainment which Colonel Butler gave at the castle of Egra. All the guests made their appearance except Wallenstein, who, being too much agitated to enjoy company, sent an apology; with regard to him, therefore, the plan must be changed; but it was resolved to execute the design upon the others. Colonels Illo, Terzky, and William Kinsky, came in a careless confidence, and with them Captain Neuman, an officer of talents, whose advice Terzky demanded in every intricate affair. Previous to their arrival the most confidential soldiers of the garrison

were entrusted with the plot and introduced into the castle; all avenues from it were guarded, and six of Butler's dragoons concealed in an apartment near the dining-room, who, on a concerted signal, were to rush out and kill the traitors. Without imagining the danger which hung over them, the unsuspecting guests abandoned themselves to the pleasures of the table, and Wallenstein's health was drank in full bumpers, not as an Imperial general, but a sovereign prince. Wine rendered them more communicative, and Illo boasted with great exultation, that in three days an army would arrive, such as Wallenstein had never before commanded, "Yes," added Neuman, "and then he hopes to wash his hands in Austrian blood." At these words the dessert was taken away, and Leslie gave the concerted signal to raise the drawbridges, while he took the keys of the doors; the dining-room was instantly filled with armed men, who amid the cry of "*Long live Ferdinand!*" placed themselves behind the chairs of the marked victims. The four immediately sprung from the table with consternation; Kinsky and Terzky were instantly killed before they could resist, Neuman found an opportunity during the confusion to escape into the yard, where he was recognised, and instantly cut down by the guards; Illo alone had presence of mind to defend himself. He placed his back to a window, from whence he uttered the bitterest reproaches against Gordon for his treachery, and challenged him to fight him like a gentleman: after a gallant resistance, during which he killed two of his enemies, he fell to the ground

overpowered by numbers, and pierced with ten wounds. Immediately after the action was committed, Leslie hastened into the town to anticipate the report; when he was seen by the centinels at the castle-gates running out of breath, they fired their muskets at him, thinking he belonged to the rebels, but without effect: these shots, however, assembled the town-guard, and it required all Leslie's presence of mind to disarm them. He now hastily detailed to them the circumstances of Wallenstein's conspiracy, and the measures which were already taken to oppose it, the fate of the four rebels, together with that which awaited the principal. Finding the troops well disposed to second his design, he exacted from them a new oath of allegiance to the Emperor, to live or die in his cause. A hundred of Butler's dragoons were now detached through the streets, in order to terrify the dependants of the traitor and to prevent tumult: all the gates of Egra were immediately occupied; and every avenue to Wallenstein's residence, which was near the market-place, was guarded by numerous and faithful detachments, which prevented either his escaping or receiving assistance.

Previous, however, to the last step, a long conference was held, in which it was debated whether they should kill him, or content themselves with making him a prisoner. Already covered with the blood of his associates, these furious men hesitated to take away the life of such an illustrious personage; they had seen him their leader in battle, and in his fortunate days surrounded by his victorious army; and the awe to which they had so long been accustomed

again seized them. But this emotion was soon suppressed by the impending danger. They remembered the threats which Illo and Neuman threw out at table; the appearance of a formidable Swedish and Saxon army was hourly expected before Egra; and safety was only to be sought in the death of the traitor: they remained stedfast, therefore, to their first resolution; and Captain Devereux, an Irishman, received the bloody orders.

While the three above mentioned decided his fate in the castle of Egra, Wallenstein was occupied in consulting the stars with Seni. "*The danger is not yet over,*" said the astrologer with a prophetic spirit; "*It is,*" answered Wallenstein, who would even contradict the decrees of Heaven; "*but it stands written in the stars that thou shalt soon be thrown into prison!*"

The astrologer had taken his leave, and Wallenstein was in bed when Devereux with six halberdiers came to his house, and was immediately admitted by the guard, who were accustomed to see him go to the general at all hours. A page who met him on the stairs, and wished to raise the alarm, was run through the body with a pike, in the antechamber the assassins met a servant who had just come out of his master's apartment, and taken with him the affrighted slave admonished them to make no noise, as the general was asleep. "*Friend,*" said Devereux, "*it is time to awake him;*" with these words he ran against the door, and burst it open.

Wallenstein was aroused from his first sleep by the noise of a musket which went off, and sprang to the window to call the guard; he at the same time heard the lamentations of the

Countesses Terzky, and Kinsky who had just learned the violent death of their husbands. Before he had time for reflection, Devereux with his assassins was in the apartment; he was in his shirt, and leaning on a table near the window. "Art thou the villain," cried Devereux, "who intends to deliver up the Emperor's troops to the enemy, and to dethrone his Majesty? Now thou must die." He paused a few moments, as if expecting an answer; but rage and astonishment silenced Wallenstein: with arms extended he received in his breast the assassins' halberds and fell weltering in his blood without a groan.

The next day an express arrived from the Duke of Lauenburg, announcing his approach: the messenger was secured, and a lackey was sent in Wallenstein's livery to decoy the Duke into Egra: the stratagem succeeded; and Francis Albert delivered himself up to the enemy. The Duke of Weimar, who was on his march to Egra, was near sharing the same fate; he very fortunately learned Wallenstein's death in sufficient time to save himself by a retreat.

Ferdinand shed a tear over the fate of his general, and ordered 3000 masses to be said for his soul in Vienna; but did not at the same time forget to decorate his assassins with gold chains, chamberlains' keys, dignities and estates.

Thus did Wallenstein, at the age of fifty years, terminate his active and extraordinary life. Led away by ambition and the love of fame, he was still, with all his failings, an admirable character, had he contained himself within bounds. The virtues of the ruler and the hero, prudence, justice, firmness, and courage, are the striking fea-

tures of his character; but he wanted the softer virtues of humanity, which adorn the hero, and procure the ruler the esteem of mankind. Terror was the talisman with which he worked; excessive in his punishments as well as in his rewards, he knew how to keep the zeal of his followers continually expanded, and no general of ancient or modern times could boast of being obeyed with equal alacrity: obedience was of more real service to him than the soldier's courage, because he acted through its means. He kept his troops in practice by capricious order, and rewarded a readiness to obey him, even in small matters, with profusion; he at one time issued an order that none but red sashes should be worn in the army. A captain of horse no sooner heard the order than he trampled his gold embroidered sash under foot; Wallenstein, on being informed of this circumstance, promoted him to the rank of colonel upon the spot. With all this appearance of caprice, he did not lose sight of the main object. The robberies of the troops in their friend's country had occasioned the severest orders against stragglers; and those who were detected in a theft were threatened to be punished with the halter. It happened that Wallenstein himself met a soldier, whom he commanded, without trial, to be taken up as a transgressor, and with his usual stern order of "*Hang the fellow,*" condemned him to the gallows; the soldier pleaded innocence, but the decisive sentence was pronounced. "*Hang, then, innocent,*" cried Wallenstein; "*the guilty will tremble with more certainty.*" Preparations were already making to execute the sentence, when the soldier, who gave him-

self up for lost, formed the desperate resolution of not dying without revenge. He furiously fell upon his judge, but was soon disarmed by numbers before he could execute his design. "Now let him go," cried Wallenstein; "he will excite sufficient terror."

His munificence was supported by an immense income, which was valued at three millions* annually, without reckoning the immoderate sums which he raised by contributions. His freedom of thinking and clearness of understanding placed him above the religious prejudices of his age, and the Jesuits could never forgive him for having seen through their system, and beheld nothing in the Pope but a Roman bishop.

But as, since Samuel the prophet's days, no one came to a fortunate end who quarrelled with the church, Wallenstein also augmented its victims. Through monkish intrigues he lost at Ratisbon the command of the army, and at Egra his life; by the same acts he perhaps lost what is more, his honest reputation and his fame with posterity. For it must be candidly acknowledged that we have the history of this extraordinary man delivered to us by no means through impartial hands; and that Wallenstein's treason; and his designs upon the crown of Bohemia, rest less upon any positive proof than upon appearances of probability. We have not yet discovered the documents which might display the secret springs of his conduct with historic truth; and among all the actions ascribed to him openly, there is not one which could not pro-

* Florins, no doubt. *Trans.*

ceed from an innocent source. Many of his most obnoxious measures showed an inclination for peace; others were to be excused by his just suspicion of the Emperor, and the blameless desire of maintaining his authority. It is true that his conduct towards the Elector of Bavaria bears the appearance of an ignoble revenge and implacable spirit; but none of his actions clearly convince us of his treason. When necessity and despair at length drove him to merit the sentence which had fallen upon him when innocent, such a sentence cannot altogether be justified; it was his ruin that caused his rebellion, not rebellion his ruin. Unfortunate while living, he made a victorious party his enemy; equally so at his death, since the same party survived him, and wrote his history.

Gustavus Adolphus and Wallenstein, the two great heroes of the warlike drama, have now disappeared from the scene, and with them we lose that unity of action which has hitherto distinguished the view of affairs. Henceforward a variety of characters attract notice; and the remainder of the war though more fertile in battles and negotiations, in statesmen and heroes, is less amusing and interesting for my readers.

CONTINUATION.

WALLENSTEIN'S death rendered a new generalissimo necessary, and the Emperor at length was prevailed upon by the Court of Spain to promote his son, Ferdinand King of Hungary, to that rank. Under him General Gallas directed, however, the entire command. A considerable force soon assembled under Ferdinand's colours, the Duke of Lorraine led reinforcements in person, and the Cardinal Infant joined with 10,000 men from Italy. In order to drive the enemy from the Danube, the new general undertook, what his predecessor failed in, the siege of Ratisbon. It was in vain that the Duke of Weimar penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, with a view to draw the enemy's attention from that city; Ferdinand persevered in the siege, and Ratisbon, after the most vigorous resistance, surrendered. Donauwerth soon after shared the same fate, and Noerdlingen in Suabia was at length besieged. The loss of so many Imperial cities, whose alliance had hitherto been so advantageous to the Swedes, could not be regarded with indifference. It would have exposed them to great disgrace if they abandoned their allies to an implacable enemy. From these considerations the Swedish army, under General Horn and the Duke of Weimar, advanced towards Noerdlingen, determined to relieve it, even at the expense of a battle.

This undertaking was highly imprudent, as the

enemy was manifestly superior in number to the Swedes, and foresight required the latter to avoid a battle, the more as the force of the Imperialists was soon to divide itself, and the Italian troops were destined for the Netherlands. It was possible to occupy a position which might cover Noerdlingen, and cut off the enemy's supplies. All these considerations were represented by Gustavus Horn in the Swedish council of war; but his remonstrances were disregarded by men who, intoxicated by a long series of successes, saw nothing in the suggestions of prudence but the effects of timidity. Overcome by the superior influence of the Duke of Weimar, Horn was obliged, against his consent; to risk a contest of which he already foresaw the unfavourable issue.

The fate of the battle depended upon the possession of a height which commanded the Imperial camp. An attempt to occupy it during the night failed, as the tedious transport of the artillery through woods and hollow ways necessarily delayed the troops on their march. When the Swedes arrived there about midnight, they found the hill already occupied and strongly intrenched by the Imperialists. Daybreak was awaited in order to storm it. The impetuous valour of the Swedes fortunately surmounted the intrenchments, formed in a crescent; but having entered on both sides, they met and fell into confusion. At this unfortunate instant a barrel of powder blew up, and caused great destruction among the Swedes. The Imperial cavalry charged them, and the confusion became general; no efforts of their general could prevail upon the fugitives to renew the attack.

He now endeavoured to maintain this important post, by leading up fresh troops; but some Spanish regiments had already occupied it, and every attempt to gain it was repulsed by the heroic intrepidity of these troops*. One of the Duke of Weimar's regiments seven times renewed the attack, and was as often repulsed. The disadvantage of not occupying this post was soon perceived. The fire of the enemy's cannon committed such slaughter in the next wing of the Swedes, that Horn, who commanded, was compelled to retire. Instead of covering the retreat of his colleague, the Duke of Weimar was closely pursued into the plain, where his routed cavalry spread confusion among Horn's troops, and rendered the defeat general. Almost the entire infantry was either cut to pieces or taken prisoners; above 12,000 men remained dead upon the field of battle; eighty cannon, 4000 waggon, and 300 standards and colours, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Horn and three other generals were taken prisoners. The Duke of Weimar with difficulty saved some feeble remains of the army, who joined him in Frankfort.

The defeat at Noerdlingen cost Oxenstierna the second sleepless night in Germany*. The conse-

* It is remarkable, that the Spanish infantry, now so contemptible, were then the first in the world. All their glory, however, terminated a few years after this by the ever-memorable victory which the Duke of Engien gained over them, at the age of twenty-two, at Rocroi—a blow from which Spain never afterwards recovered. The Dutch subsequently became famous for a discipline which has since been carried to the last perfection by the German infantry. *Trans.*

quences of this disaster were terrible. The Swedes at once lost by it their superiority in the field, and with it the allies to whom they had hitherto been indebted for their successes. A dangerous division threatened the Protestant confederacy with ruin. Consternation seized the whole party, and the Catholics arose in exulting triumph from their fall. Suabia and the neighbouring circles first felt the consequences of the defeat at Noerdlingen, and Wirtemberg in particular was overrun by the victorious army. All the members of the confederacy of Hailbronn trembled before the Emperor's indignation, numbers fled to Strashurg, and the helpless free cities awaited their fate with fear and astonishment. Somewhat greater moderation on the part of the conquerors would have reduced the weaker states under the Emperor's subjection. But the severity which was practised even against those who voluntarily surrendered, made the remainder desperate, and encouraged them to the most vigorous resistance.

Recourse was had upon this occasion to Oxenstierna for his counsel and assistance; for both of which he called upon the states of Germany. Armies were wanting; money was also required to raise new troops, and pay off the old arrears. Oxenstierna applied to the Elector of Saxony, who shamefully abandoned him, and concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor at Pirna. He also made application for assistance to the states of Lower Saxony; but the latter, long tired of the Swedish demands, only provided for their own safety; and George Duke of Luneburg, instead of hastening to the assistance of Upper Germany, laid siege to Minden, with the inten-

tion of keeping it for himself. Abandoned by his German allies, the Chancellor applied to foreign powers for assistance. England, Holland, and Venice, were solicited for money and troops; and, driven to the last necessity, he at length resolved to throw himself under the protection of France; a measure which he embraced with reluctance.

The period was at length arrived which Richelieu long waited for with impatience. It was only the impossibility of saving themselves by any other means, that could lead the Protestant states of Germany to second the claims of France on Alsace. Such a necessity now presented itself: the assistance of that power was absolutely requisite, and France was amply paid for the active part which it from this period took in the war. It opened its political career with splendour and reputation; Oxenstierna, whom it cost but little to bestow the rights and possessions of the Empire, had already ceded Philipsburg and other places which were required by Richelieu. The Upper German Protestants now sent a special embassy to him to take Alsace, the fortress of Brisach, which was still in the enemy's possession, and all the fortified places of the Upper Rhine which commanded the entrance into Germany, under his protection. France was already in possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which it defended for centuries against their lawful proprietors. Treves was in its power; Lorraine was in a manner conquered, as it might every moment be overrun by an army, and could not, by its native strength, withstand the force of its powerful neighbour. France now enjoyed the prospect of adding Alsace to its nume-

rous possessions, and, as it, at the same time, entered into a treaty with the Dutch for the division of the Spanish Netherlands, it could expect to make the Rhine its natural barrier against the Emperor. So shamefully were the possessions of Germany sold by its states to that faithless avaricious power, which, under the mask of disinterested friendship, only laboured for aggrandizement; and while it claimed the respectable title of a protectress; was only employed in promoting its own views, amid the general confusion.

In return for these important cessions, France engaged to make a diversion in favour of the Swedes, by commencing hostilities against the Spaniards; and, should it come to an open breach with the Emperor, to maintain an army of 12,000 men upon the opposite side of the Rhine, which was to act, in conjunction with the Swedes, against Austria. The desired pretext for a war was given by the Spaniards themselves. They made an inroad from the Netherlands into Treves, cut in pieces the French garrison which lay in that city, and took prisoner, in violation of the laws of nations, the Elector, who had put himself under the protection of France, and brought him to Flanders. When the Cardinal Infant, as viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands, refused satisfaction for those injuries, and delayed to restore the prince, whom he had taken, to his liberty, Richelieu, after the old custom, formally declared war against him by a herald whom he sent to Brussels, and immediately commenced it by three different armies in Italy and Flanders. The French minister was not so ready to begin against the Emperor a war

which promised few advantages, and was accompanied with great difficulties. Nevertheless a fourth army was detached over the Rhine into Germany, under the Cardinal La Valette, to act in conjunction with the Duke of Weimar, without a previous declaration of war against the Emperor.

Ferdinand's reconciliation with the Elector of Saxony was a more severe blow to the Swedes than their defeat at Noerdlingen. After a fruitless attempt to prevent it, this negotiation was concluded during the winter 1634, at Pirna, and ended the following May in a formal peace. The Elector of Saxony could never conceal his aversion to that foreign power which gave laws to Germany, and his hatred was increased by every new demand of Oxenstierna. This aversion to Sweden was increased by the efforts of the Court of Spain, who laboured to effect a treaty between Saxony and the Emperor. Wearied by the calamities of a long and destructive war, which made Saxony above all other countries its theatre, excited by the miseries which both friends and enemies heaped upon his subjects, and seduced by the deceitful offers of Austria, the Elector at last abandoned the common cause; and less occupied by Germany's liberty than his own safety, only consulted the latter.

In fact, misery had risen in Germany to such a pitch, that all voices exclaimed for a peace even the most disadvantageous. In plains which had formerly possessed plenty and happiness, and over which thousands of people were spread, nothing but devastation was now to be seen; the fields, abandoned by the industrious husband-

man, lay waste and uncultivated, and where a young crop or a smiling harvest appeared, a march of soldiers destroyed the fruits of a twelve-month's labour. Burned castles and villages in ashes lay upon all sides the melancholy objects of contemplation, while their plundered inhabitants repaired to join an army of incendiaries, and retaliate upon their fellow-citizens that fate to which they themselves had been the first victims. In order to avoid oppression, recourse was had to violence. The towns groaned under the licentiousness of undisciplined garrisons, who squandered the property of the inhabitants, and exercised the utmost disorders. While the march of an army laid waste an entire country, or plundered it by winter-quarters or contributions, the industry of a whole year was effaced by the ravages of a month. The fate of such as had a garrison within their walls, or in their neighbourhood, was the most unhappy, because the victors trod in the footsteps of the vanquished, and no greater indulgence was to be expected from friends than from enemies. All these different calamities brought want and hunger to their utmost pitch, and the miseries of the latter years were increased by a sterility*. The crowding of people in camps and quarters, want upon

* In the year 1634, when the negotiations were opened at Pirna, provisions became so dear, that an egg was sold for six kreutzers (three halfpence English), a much greater sum in those days than at present, in Germany; a pound of meal, ten and twenty kreutzers, a bushel of oats, sixteen rix-dollars; and one of barley, thirty. A fowl cost a florin, and a Nuremberg cask of wine twenty rix-dollars (3*l.* 5*s.*). *Author.*

one side, and excess on the other, occasioned contagious distempers, which were more fatal than the sword. All the bounds of social life were dissolved in this universal confusion; the respect for order, the fear of the laws, the purity of morals and of religion, were lost under the weight of an iron sceptre. Anarchy and impunity disdained every law, and men became ferocious according as their country was wasted. No situation was longer respected, no property was secured from plunder. The soldier, in a word, reigned, and that most brutal of depots often made his superiors experience his own power. The general was the most important personage, and the legal proprietor of a country was often obliged to fly to his castles for safety. The whole of Germany swarmed with these petty tyrants, and the country suffered equally from friends and enemies. All those wounds were the more severe, on reflecting that it was foreign powers who sacrificed the country to their ambition, and encouraged the miseries of the war only to pursue their own advantages. Germany bled in order to promote the interests of Sweden; and Richelieu's alliance was indispensable.

But it was not interested voices alone who were against a peace: while both Swedes and Germans declared for a continuance of the war, they were seconded by a sound policy. And advantageous peace with the Emperor was not to be expected after the defeat at Noerdlingen; and it was too great a sacrifice to have gained nothing, or rather lost every thing, after a seventeen years' contest. So much blood was unnecessarily shed without attaining its object. It was more

reasonable to prosecute the war, and support the burden for some period longer; than to surrender the advantages which had been obtained. A fortunate peace was to be expected when the Swedes and German Protestants unanimously pursued their interests as well in the field. It was their division which alone rendered the enemy formidable this greatest of all evils was occasioned by the Elector of Saxony, when he concluded a separate peace.

He had already commenced a negotiation with the Emperor previous to the defeat at Noerdlingen, an event which accelerated the treaty. All confidence in the Swedes was lost, and it was doubted whether they should ever recover their late blow. No further exploits were expected from the division of their commanders, the insubordination of the armies, and the decay of Sweden. It was upon this account thought the more expedient to profit by the Emperor's magnanimity, who withdrew his pretensions after the victory which he had obtained at Noerdlingen. Oxenstierna, who assembled the states at Franfort, made demands; the Emperor, on the contrary, yielded; so that men did not long hesitate which party to embrace.

But, to save appearances, an anxiety for the common cause was affected. All the states of Germany, and even the Swedes, were publicly invited to partake in this peace, although it only was concluded between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, who assumed the power of the Protestant states were here debated, their rights and privileges decided before this arbitrary tribunal, and the fate of their religion resolved

upon without consulting the members who were so much interested in it. A formal peace was determined upon, and to enforce it by an army of execution as a regular degree of the Empire. Whoever opposed this measure was to be considered as a public enemy. The treaty of Prague was thus, even in form, a work of caprice, neither was it less so in its contents.

The edict of restitution had chiefly caused the breach between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, and it was therefore taken first into consideration at their reconciliation; without formally abolishing it, the treaty of Prague determined that all the chapters which the Protestants had seized after the negotiation at Passau, should remain during forty years in the same condition in which they were when the edict of restitution was issued. Before this term was elapsed, a committee of both religions was to be appointed, who should regularly proceed to decide the common affairs; and if they did not conclude a treaty, both parties were to remain possessed of the rights which they maintained previous to the edict. It was thus that this treaty, far from concluding a formal peace, only covered the embers of a war.

The bishopric of Magdeburg was ceded to Prince Augustus of Saxony, and Halberstadt to the Archduke Leopold William: four estates were taken from the territory of Magdeburg and given to Saxony: the Administrator of Magdeburg, Christian William of Brandenburg, was indemnified in another manner. The Dukes of Mecklenburg were to recover, by joining in the peace, their territories which they had already been

fortunately possessed of by means of Gustavus Adolphus. Donauwerth recovered its liberty. The claims of the Palatine heirs, however important for the Protestant cause, remained unnoticed from the animosity which subsisted between a Lutheran and a Calvinist party. All conquests were mutually restored, and Sweden and France were forcibly to yield the possessions which they had appropriated to themselves. It was determined that the contracting parties should assemble an army in order to enforce this treaty.

As the treaty of Prague was destined for a general law of the Empire, the points which did not more immediately belong to the latter, were contained in a separate article. In this Lusatia was ceded to the Elector of Saxony as a fief of Bohemia, and the toleration of religion in that country and Silesia was particularly provided for.

All the Protestant states were invited to partake in the treaty, and were upon that condition granted the amnesty. The princes of Wirtemberg and Baden, whose territories were in the enemy's possession, and who, though the immediate vassals of Austria, were directed by Oxenstierna, were alone excluded: this was not done that the war might be prosecuted against them, but rather to sell a peace the dearer. It was intended to keep their dominions as a pledge for restoring every thing at the conclusion of a peace to its former footing: an equal justice towards all the states had, perhaps, promoted the good understanding between all parties, and compelled the Swedes to a disgraceful retreat from Germany. But the severe treatment of the Pro-

testants upon this occasion, augmented their spirit of opposition, and facilitated the designs of the Swedes.

The treaty of Prague, as was expected, was received throughout Germany with various emotions. The efforts which were made to reconcile the hostile parties increased the reproaches of both; the Protestants complained against the restraints which were imposed upon them, the Catholics murmured against the indulgence with which their enemies were treated. It was loudly exclaimed that the interests of the church were sacrificed, since a forty years' possession of its chapters was formally granted to the Catholics; according to some, treachery was manifest towards the Protestants, because toleration was not obtained for their brethren in the Austrian dominions. But no person was so much reproached as the Elector of Saxony, who was publicly represented as a deserter, a traitor against liberty and religion, and a partisan of the Emperor.

Ferdinand, meanwhile, consoled himself that the treaty which he concluded was embraced by most of the Protestant states; it was agreed to by the Elector of Brandenburg, William Duke of Weimar, the Princes of Anhalt, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, those of Brunswic Luneburg, the Hanse Towns, and most of the Imperial free cities. William Landgrave of Hesse Cassel long wavered, or affected to do so, in order to gain time to conform to circumstances; he had conquered some fertile countries in Westphalia, from whence he drew his chief means of supporting the war, and which, according to the terms of the peace, he was bound to restore. Bernard

Duke of Weimar, whose territories existed only upon paper, was considered not as a hostile power, but merely as a general, and in both capacities it was natural for him to detest the treaty of Prague. All that prince's riches consisted in his valour, and his sword was his only fortune; it was the war alone which rendered him important, and gratified his ambition.

But among all who declared against the treaty of Prague, none were so loud in their clamours as the Swedes, who were most interested in it. Invited by the Germans themselves, champions of the Protestant religion, and of the German liberties, which they had purchased at the expense of so much blood and by the life of their sovereign, they now beheld themselves abandoned, deceived in their plans, and ungratefully driven out of the Empire; no indemnification or reward was provided for them by the treaty; they were now poorer than on their arrival, and to be driven from Germany by the very powers which invited them. At length the Elector of Saxony spoke of indemnification, and mentioned the small sum of 2,500,000 florins; but the Swedes had rated their services at a higher price, and scorned to accept of a pecuniary recompence. "The Electors of Bavaria and Saxony," exclaimed Oxenstierna, "are paid for the services which they render the Emperor with whole provinces; and are we Swedes, who have already sacrificed our king for Germany, to be dismissed with the small sum of 2,500,000 florins?" The disappointed expectation was the more painful, as the Swedes flattered themselves with receiving, as a reward of their services, the dutchy of Pomera-

nia, whose present possessor was old and wanted heirs. But the inheritance of that duchy was, by the treaty of Prague, secured to the Elector of Brandenburg; and all parties exclaimed against the Swedes obtaining a footing in Germany.

The Swedes had never experienced such a reverse of fortune as during the present year 1635, immediately after the conclusion of the treaty of Prague. Many of their allies, particularly the free cities, forsook them in order to benefit by the peace; others were compelled to it by the victorious arms of the Emperor; Augsburg, perishing with hunger, submitted under severe conditions; Wirtzburg and Coburg yielded to the Emperor; the confederacy of Hailbronn was formally dissolved; almost all the south of Germany, which contained the principal force of the Swedes, submitted to the Austrians. Saxony, in consequence of the treaty of Prague, demanded the evacuation of Thuringia, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg: Phillipsburg, the French depôt, was surprised, together with all its military stores, and that great loss diminished the activity of France. To complete the embarrassment of Swedes, the cessation of hostilities with Poland was drawing near an end; to support a war at the same time with the German empire and with Poland, was an undertaking much above the power of Sweden, who had to make choice of one or the other. Pride and ambition declared in favour of the German war, which threatened to cost a large sacrifice on the side of Poland: an army was at all events necessary to keep Poland in respect, even at the conclusion of a peace, or a cessation of hostilities.

All these misfortunes presented themselves at once to the genius of Oxenstierna, so fertile in expedients, and whose penetrating mind knew how to turn even calamity to his advantage. The defection of so many German states from the Swedish party, had deprived him of allies which had hitherto supported him; but at the same time he was released from all obligations towards them, and the more numerous were his enemies, the more his armies could spread and provide themselves with resources. The palpable ingratitude of the states, and the haughty contempt with which he was treated by the Emperor (who did not condescend to negotiate with *him* about a peace) excited in Oxenstierna all the feelings of despair and a just indignation. A war, though ever so disadvantageous, could not render the situation of the Swedes worse; and if Germany was to be evacuated, it was more reputable to abandon it sword in hand, and to yield to force rather than to fear.

In the great extremity in which the Swedes found themselves by the desertion of their allies, they applied to France, which met them with the most advantageous offers; the interests of both crowns were united, and France, by permitting the ruin of the Swedes in Germany, acted against itself. The bad situation of the Swedes was, perhaps, the motive which induced the French to a closer alliance, and to take a more active part in the war. Since the treaty with Sweden at Beerwalde, in the year 1632, France had stopped the progress of the Imperial arms, through the means of Gustavus Adolphus, without an open breach, and by the subsidies which she gave

to the latter; but rendered uneasy by the sudden and extraordinary success of the Swedes, France altered her first plan for some time, in order to re-establish that balance of power which was injured by the superiority of the former. The French endeavoured to save the Catholic princes of the Empire, by making them embrace a neutral system, and on the failure of that design, were ready to take up arms against the northern conqueror. But not sooner had the death of Gustavus Adolphus and the adversity of the Swedes dissipated these apprehensions, than France immediately returned to her former system, and afforded that protection to the unfortunate which she denied them under more favourable circumstances. Richelieu, who was freed by the death of the Swedish king from all the opposition with which his schemes for aggrandizement had hitherto met, embraced the favourable opportunity of the defeat at Noerdlingen, to obtain himself the entire direction of the war; the conjuncture favoured his boldest projects, and justified schemes which had hitherto appeared chimerical. He accordingly turned all his attention to the German war, and after securing his private plans by an alliance with the Germans, he appeared as a leader upon the political theatre: while the hostile powers exhausted themselves by mutual efforts, France had spared herself, and during ten years carried on the war with money; but now, when the season for activity arrived, Richelieu seized the sword, and displayed efforts which set all Europe in astonishment. He ordered two fleets to cruise upon the seas, and sent out six different armies, at the same time that he had

in his pay a crown and several German princes. Encouraged by so powerful a protection, the Swedes and Germans recovered from their consternation, and hoped to obtain by the sword a more favourable peace than that of Prague. Abandoned by their confederates, who treated with the Emperor, the Protestant states formed a closer union with France, which redoubled its support with the increasing necessity, and took a more active, though still a private share, in the war in Germany, until it at length threw off the mask, and openly attacked the Emperor.

In order to leave Sweden at full liberty to act against Germany, France commenced with terminating the Polish war. By means of the Count d'Avaux its minister, it concluded an agreement with both powers, which at length was brought about at Stummersdorf in Prussia, not without great losses on the part of the Swedes, who ceded almost the whole of Polish Prussia, which had been purchased at such expense by Gustavus Adolphus, and the treaty was prolonged for twenty-six years; that of Beerwalde was renewed till a future period after some alterations, which the circumstances rendered necessary, first at Compiègne, and then at Wismar and Hamburg: a rupture was already commenced with France in 1635, and by the vigorous attack of that power, the Emperor was deprived of the firmest support from the Netherlands. By supporting the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the Duke of Wismar, the Swedes were enabled to act with greater vigour upon the Elbe and the Danube, and the Emperor was compelled to divide his force by a powerful diversion upon the Rhine.

The war was now prosecuted with increasing vigour; and though, by the treaty of Prague, the Emperor lessened the number of his enemies in Germany, he at the same time augmented the zeal and activity of his exterior foes; he had obtained an unlimited influence throughout all the Empire, and was almost absolute master of every state, with a few exceptions. The first effects of this appeared by his procuring for his son Ferdinand III. the dignity of King of the Romans, in which he prevailed by a plurality of voices, notwithstanding the opposition of the heirs of the Elector of Treves, and of the Elector Palatine; but he had exasperated the Swedes to a desperate resistance, and introduced the French into the midst of Germany. Both crowns now formed a close alliance against the Emperor and his confederates. From this period the Swedes, who no longer fought for Germany, but for their own existence, displayed no measures of discretion, and they acted in a more bold and rash manner; battles, though less decisive, became more bloody and obstinate; greater exploits, more intrepidity and military skill were exhibited: but those events had lost influence upon the general success of the war.

Saxony had engaged by the treaty of Prague to expel the Swedes from Germany; the Saxons became reconciled to the Austrians, and joined them. The archbishopric of Magdeburg, which had been promised to a prince of Saxony, was still in the possession of the Swedes, and every attempt to acquire it by negotiation had failed; hostilities commenced by the Elector of Saxony's recalling all his subjects from Banner's army,

which had encamped upon the Elbe; the officers, long irritated by the want of their arrears, attended this citation, and evacuated one quarter after another. As the Saxons at the same time made a movement towards Mecklenburg, in order to take Doemitz, and cut off the Swedes from Pomerania and the Baltic; Banner suddenly marched towards that quarter, relieved Doemitz, and totally defeated the Saxon General Baudissin with 7000 men, one thousand of whom were killed on the spot, and another made prisoners. Reinforced by the troops and artillery which lay in Polish Prussia, and which might be spared from that country since the treaty at Stummsdorf, that brave and impetuous general, the next year, 1636, made an inroad into Saxony, and marked his progress by the most destructive ravages; the unfortunate inhabitants became exposed to the whole force of his indignation; he was exasperated by the former haughtiness of the Saxons while friends, and now still more as enemies. Against the Saxons, the Swedes displayed much greater animosity than against the Austrians and Bavarians, because they opposed the latter only from a sense of duty, while towards the former they showed that the rage of divided friends is the most implacable*. The powerful diversion which the Duke of Weimar and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel made against the Emperor, prevented the latter from affording the necessary assistance to Saxony, and exposed that electorate to the ra-

* An observation confirmed by the experience of ages. The late rebellion in Ireland affords a strong example, where near relations fought on opposite sides, and neither gave nor took quarter. *Trans.*

vages of Horn's army. At length the Elector having formed a junction with the Imperial General Hatzfeld, advanced against Magdeburg, which Horn immediately hastened to relieve, the united Saxon and Austrian armies were now spread over the march of Brandenburg, took several places from the Swedes, and nearly drove them to the Baltic. But contrary to every expectation, Banner, though given up for lost, attacked the allied armies on the 24th of September 1636, at Wittstock, where a bloody battle took place. The attack was furious, and the whole of the enemy was directed against the right wing of the Swedes, led on by Banner in person: a desperate conflict ensued, and there was scarce a Swedish squadron which did not return ten times to the charge, and was as often repulsed. When Banner was at length obliged to yield to the superior numbers of the enemy, his left wing maintained the combat until night, and the second line of the Swedes, which had not come into action, was prepared to renew it the next morning. But the Saxon did not await another attack; his troops were exhausted by the preceding day's exertions; and as the drivers fled with their horses, his artillery was unserviceable; he accordingly retired the same night with Hatzfeld, and abandoned the field of battle to the Swedes. Above 5000 of the allies were killed upon the spot, without reckoning those who were slaughtered by the Swedish pursuers and the exasperated peasantry; 100 standards and colours, twenty-three cannon, together with the Elector's silver plate, were taken, and 2000 prisoners. This brilliant victory, achieved over a far more

numerous and advantageously posted enemy, restored the Swedes at once to their ancient reputation; their enemies trembled, and their allies were inspired with new hopes. Banner immediately profited by his successes to cross the Elbe, and drove the Austrians before him through Thuringia and Cassel to Westphalia; he then returned, and took up his quarters in Saxony.

But without the assistance which he received from the diversion which the Duke of Weimar and the French made on the Rhine, he could never profit by this splendid victory. The former had, after the defeat at Noerdlingen, assembled the remains of the beaten army in Wetterau; but forsaken by his confederates at Hailbronn, who were dissolved by the peace of Prague, he could no longer support the army, nor perform great exploits; the defeat at Noerdlingen had destroyed all his hopes to obtain the duchy of Franconia, and the weakness of the Swedes deprived him of the hope of advancing his fortune through their means. Wearied by the constraint which the pretensions of the Swedish Chancellor imposed upon him, he applied to France, who supplied him with money, the article he most wanted. Richelieu desired nothing so much as to remove from the Swedes the conduct of the war, and to place it in his own hands; to attain this end, no means were so expedient as detaching their best general from them, bringing him into the interest of France, and securing the obedience of his army. A prince, such as the Duke of Weimar, who could not exist without foreign support, was the more easily prevailed on to embrace that measure, as he could not remain any

considerable time independent of France. The Duke himself went to France, and in October 1635, concluded with Richelieu a treaty at St. Germain en Laye, not for the Swedish general, but in his own name, by which it was stipulated that he was to receive 1,500,000 livres for himself, and 4,000,000 for the subsistence of an army which was to act under the French King's orders. To inspire him with greater zeal, and facilitate the conquest of Alsace, a secret promise was given him, that that province should be secured to himself, a promise which the Duke knew there was no intention of performing. But confiding in his army and his own good fortune, he opposed one piece of dissimulation to another; if once able to wrest Alsace from the enemy, he would not scruple to defend it also against his ally. With French gold he now raised an army which acted apparently under France, but which he commanded in reality without entirely abandoning the Swedish general: he commenced his operations upon the Rhine, where another French army under Cardinal La Valette, had the preceding year, 1635, begun hostilities.

It was against this general that the grand Imperial army, after their great victory at Noerdlingen, advanced under Gallas, and fortunately drove the French back to Metz, cleared the Rhine of the enemy, and took Mentz and Frankenthal from the Swedes. But Gallas, frustrated in his design of taking up his winterquarters in France by the vigorous resistance of the French, was compelled to retire to the exhausted provinces of Alsace and Suabia. At the opening of the ensuing campaign he however passed the Rhine

at Brisach, and prepared to remove the war into the interior of France. He actually fell upon Burgundy, while the Spaniards penetreated from the Netherlands into the Picardy, and John de Werth, a formidable general and celebrated partisan, entered Champagne, and spread consternation as far as the gates of Paris. But all the bravery of the Austrians failed before an inconsiderable fortress in Franche Comté, and they were a second time compelled to abandon their designs.

The Duke of Weimar's active genius had been hitherto restrained by his dependance on a French general, who was fitter for the priesthood than the falchion: and although in conjunction with the latter he took Saverne in Alsace, he was not able, in the years 1636 and 1637, to maintain his position upon the Rhine. The ill success of the French arms in the Netherlands had checked operations on the Rhine, Alsace and Brisgau; but in the year 1638 the war took a brilliant turn in these parts. Finding himself without further constraint, and with the unlimited command of his troops, he left, in the begining of February, his winter-quarters, which he had taken in the bishopric of Basle, and, contrary to every expectation, advanced towards the Rhine, where nothing less than an attack was expected. The Forest towns of Laufenburg, Waldshut, and Seckingen, were taken in this expedition, and Rheinfeld besieged. The commanding general of the Austrians, the Duke of Savelli, repaired by hasty marches to relieve that important place, actually raised its siege, and drove the Duke of Weimar, not without great loss, from before it. But, contrary to all human expectations, the lat-

ter. appeared the third day after (on the 21st of February 1638) in order of battle, in front of the Imperialists, and while they were enjoying their victory in full security, totally defeated them: in his battle their four generals, Savelli, Werth, Enkenford, and Sperkreiter together with 2000 men, were taken prisoners. Two of the generals, Werth and Enkenford, Richelieu had afterwards conveyed to France, in order to flatter the vanity of the French nation by the sight of such distinguished captives, and to conceal, under the mask of victory, the public miseries. With this view the standards and colours taken at Rheinfeld were brought in solemn procession to the church of our Lady, thrice exhibited before the altar, and committed to sacred custody.

The taking of Rheinfeld, Roeteln, and Freyburg, were the immediate consequences of the Duke of Weimar's victory. His army considerably increased, and his projects expanded in proportion as fortune favoured him. The fortress of Brisach, on the Upper Rhine, commanded that river, and was regarded as the key to Alsace: No place in that quarter was of more importance to the Austrians, nor guarded with such care. It was to defend it that the Italian army under the Duke of Feria was principally destined; its strength bade defiance to every attack, and the Imperial generals who commanded in that quarter received express orders to hazard every thing in its defence: but the Duke, relying upon his good fortune, resolved to attack this fortress. Its strength rendering it impregnable, it could only be starved into a surrender; and the negligence of its governor, who had converted his provision

of corn into money, expecting no attack, hastened its conquest. As under these circumstances it could not sustain a long siege, it must either be speedily relieved or victualled. The Austrian general Goetz accordingly advanced at the head of 12,000 men, attended by 3000 provision-waggons, which he intended to have thrown into the place. But he was attacked with vigour by the Duke at Witteveyer, and lost all his corps except 3000 men, together with his entire transport. A similar fate was experienced by the Duke of Lorraine at Oxenfeld, near Thann, who, at the head of between 5 and 6000 men, undertook to relieve the fortress. After a third similar attempt of General Goetz had failed Brisach, reduced to the utmost extremity by hunger, surrendered, after a four months siege, on the 7th of December 1638, to its equally obstinate and humane conqueror.

The conquest of Brisach now opened a boundless field for the Duke of Weimar's ambition, and his romantic projects became nearly realized. Far from surrendering this conquest to France, he received its homage in his own name. Intoxicated by his former successes, he now imagined that he could depend upon himself, and maintain his conquest independent of France. At that period, when every thing depended upon courage, when even personal strength was of importance, and armies and generals were of more consequence than provinces, it was natural for a hero such as the Duke of Weimar, at the head of an excellent army, who felt themselves under his orders invincible, not to be discouraged in any project. In order to obtain a support against his nume-

rous enemies, he turned his eyes towards Amelia Landgrave of Hesse, widow of the lately-deceased Landgrave William, a woman of sense equal to her courage, who could bestow valuable conquests, a formidable army, and an extensive principality, with her hand. By the union of the conquests of Hesse Cassel with his own upon the Rhine, and the formation of both armies into one, a considerable power might be maintained in Germany, and perhaps even a third party which might decide the fate of the war. But a speedy death terminated these extensive schemes.

"*Brisach is ours,*" cried Richelieu to the Capucin father Joseph, whom he sent upon a second embassy into Germany; so much was he transported with this pleasing intelligence. He had already intended to demand Alsace, Brisgau, and all the advanced provinces of Austria, without regarding the promise which he had made to the Duke of Weimar. The earnest desire which the latter unequivocally displayed of maintaining Brisach for himself caused Richelieu the utmost embarrassment, and every effort was made to retain the Duke in the interest of France. He was invited to court in order to receive the honours due to his triumph;—but he perceived the artifice, and eluded it. He was even honoured by an invitation to espouse the Cardinal's niece; but the proud German prince scorned to contaminate the Saxon blood by an inferior marriage. He was now regarded as a dangerous enemy, and treated as such; his subsidies were withdrawn; and the governor of Brisach, together with his principal officers, were bribed (at least after the Duke's death) to secure his troops and his con-

quests. These artifices were no secret to the Duke, and the measures which he embraced in the conquered places betrayed his distrust of France. But this quarrel with the French court had the worst effect upon his future operations. The preparations which he made to defend his conquests against an attack of the French compelled him to divide his force; and the loss of his subsidies delayed his appearance in the field. His intention was to pass the Rhine, to relieve the Swedes, and, on the banks of the Danube, to attack the Emperor and Bavaria. He had already disclosed his projects to Banner, who was preparing to carry the war into Austria, and promised to relieve him, when his sudden death at Neuburg on the Rhine, in July 1639, terminated, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, the immortal career of a hero.

He died of a disorder resembling the plague, which within two days, carried off 400 men in the camp. The black spots which appeared upon his corpse, his own declaration upon his death-bed, and the advantages which France could derive from his decease, excited a suspicion that he was removed by poison; but this was effectually contradicted by the symptoms of his disorder. In him the allies lost their greatest general since Gustavus Adolphus, France a dangerous competitor for Alsace, and the Emperor a most formidable enemy. Formed in the school of Gustavus Adolphus a hero and a general, he successfully imitated his great master, and a longer life alone was wanting to prevent the copy from equalling, if not surpassing, the original. With all the impetuous courage of a soldier he united

the cool and firm penetration of a general, the presevering valour of a man with the boldness of youth, the fire of a warrior with all the graceful dignity of a prince, the prudence of a wise man with the conscientiousness of a man of honour. Discouraged by no misfortune, he recovered from his defeats with rapidity and vigour, dismayed by no obstacles or disappointments. His genius soared, perhaps, to a height which could not be attained by any human efforts; but such men are directed by other motives than those which visibly guide ordinary capacities; and, conscious of his own capacity, he formed plans which would be imprudent in most men. Bernard affords, in modern history, a beautiful image of those ages of chivalry when personal valour prevailed, individual prowess conquered provinces, and the feats of a German knight raised him to the Imperial throne.

The best part of the Duke's possessions was his army, which, together with Alsace, he bequeathed to his brother William. But France and Sweden thought they had well-grounded claims upon this army; the latter, because it was raised in his name, and the former because by its means it was supported. Even the Electoral Prince of the Palatinate sought to employ it in the reconquest of his dominions, and tampered with it, first by his agents and then in person. Attempts were made on the part of Austria to win this army; a circumstance the less surprising when we reflect that the justice of the cause was then less considered than its recompence, and courage, like other commodities, was disposed of to the highest bidder. But France,

richer and more determined, outbid the competitors: it bought over General Erlach, who commanded at Brisach, and the other chiefs; who delivered up that fortress, together with the entire army. The young Count Palatine, Charles Lewis, who had already made an unfortunate campaign against the Emperor, was now deceived in his hopes. In order to be a witness of this bad service which France rendered him, he imprudently entered that kingdom, and still more imprudently concealed his name. The Cardinal, who dreaded the just cause of the Palatine, was ready to embrace any measure to frustrate his designs. He accordingly had him seized, in breach of the laws of nations, at Moulin, and did not restore him to liberty until he was informed of the purchase of Weimar's troops. France now saw itself possessed of a considerable force in Germany; and from this moment commenced an open war with the Emperor.

But it was no longer Ferdinand II. whom the French had to oppose; that prince had died in February 1637, in the 59th year of his age. The war which his ambition had excited survived him. During an eighteen years reign he had never laid aside the sword, nor tasted the blessings of peace. He was a prince endowed with the talents of a good sovereign, which might be turned towards the benefit of his subjects. Mild and humane by nature, but entertaining a wrong idea of his prerogative, he was the instrument of other men's passions: he failed in his good intentions; and the friend of justice was converted into the oppressor of mankind, the enemy of peace, and the scourge of his people. Amiable in private life

and respectable as a sovereign, he was only ill-advised in his politics; and while he obtained the esteem of the Catholics, he drew down upon him the execration of the Protestants. History has represented to us more wicked despots than Ferdinand II. but he alone had the singular fate of kindling a *thirty years war*; but his ambition must, in order to excite such evil consequences, have unfortunately coincided with the period and the prejudices of the times. At a more peaceful period his ambition could not have succeeded, and the age might have enjoyed tranquillity; but now a spark unfortunately fell upon the long prepared combustibles, and Europe was set in a blaze.

His son Ferdinand III. who a few months before had been raised to the dignity of King of the Romans, inherited his throne, his principles, and his war. But Ferdinand III. had beheld, at a closer view, the miseries of the people and the devastation of the country, and saw the necessity of a peace. Less governed by the Jesuits and the Spaniards, and more moderate towards other religions, he was more susceptible than his father or hearkening to the voice of reason. He accordingly listened to it, and granted a peace to Europe; but not until after a contest of eleven years with the sword and the pen, when he found resistance vain, and necessity had dictated it to him.

Fortune attended his accession to the throne, and his arms were victorious against the Swedes. The latter had, under Banner's vigorous orders, taken up their winter quarters in Saxony, after their victory at Wittstock, and opened the campaign of 1637 by the siege of Leipsic. The brave

defence of the garrison, and the approach of the Imperial and Electoral troops, saved that city; and Banner, in order to avoid being cut off from the Elbe, retired to Torgau. But the superiority of the Imperialists also drove him thence; and surrounded by the enemy, interrupted by rivers, and pressed by hunger, he was compelled to undertake a perilous retreat into Pomerania, the boldness and fortunate issue of which border upon romance. The whole army waded through a shallow part of the Oder at Furstenberg, and the men drew the artillery when the horses became disabled. Banner had expected to find General Wrangel upon the other side of the Oder, and in conjunction with him to attack the enemy. Wrangel appeared not, but in his stead an Imperial army was posted at Landsberg, to cut off the retreat of the Swedes. Banner now saw he had got into a dangerous snare, from which he could not extricate himself. At his rear lay an exhausted country, and on his left the Austrians and the Oder, which was guarded by the Imperial general Bucheim, and did not afford a passage. He had before his front Landsberg, Custrin, the Warta, and an enemy's army; Poland, which, notwithstanding the truce, he could not trust, was on his right. It is not surprising, if in such a situation he gave himself up for lost, and that the Imperialists already triumphed in his inevitable destruction. Banner, with just indignation, accused the French as the authors of his misfortune. They had neglected to make, according to their promise, a diversion upon the Rhine: and their inactivity enabled the Emperor to employ his whole force against the Swedes. "If we are one

day," exclaimed the incensed general to the French commissioner, who followed the Swedish camp, "to join the Germans in a war with France, we shall cross the Rhine with less ceremony." But reproaches were now expended in vain, when circumstances required an immediate resolution. In order, by stratagem, to draw the enemy from the Oder, he pretended to direct his march towards Poland, and actually sent by that route a great part of the baggage, together with his wife, and the rest of the officers' ladies. The Imperialists immediately broke off towards the frontiers of Poland, to intercept his retreat, and Bucheim forsook his position, by which the Oder was cleared. Banner on a sudden, taking advantage of the night, returned to that river, and crossed it a mile above Custring, with baggage and artillery, without either boats or bridges, in the same manner as he had done at Furstenberg. He arrived without loss in Pomerania, to defend which Wrangel and he were now occupied.

But the Imperialists under the command of Gallas entered that duchy at Ribes, and overran it with their superior strength; Usedom and Wolgast were taken by storm, Demmin by capitulation; and the Swedes were driven to Lower Pomerania. It was now more than ever of consequence to maintain a footing in this duchy, as at that period its Duke Bogislas XIV. had died, and the Swedes resolved to enforce their claims to Pomerania. In order to prevent the Elector of Brandenburg from establishing his right to the succession of that duchy, which he was also promised by the treaty of Prague, Sweden exert-

ed all her strength, and vigorously supported her generals both with men and money. In other parts of the Empire, the affairs of the Swedes began to assume a more favourable aspect, and gradually recovered from the humiliating situation in which the inactivity of France and the desertion of their allies had placed them; they had lost every post in Upper Saxony after their retreat to Pomerania; the Dukes of Mecklenburg, terrified by the Imperial arms, began to incline to the Emperor's party, and even George Duke of Luneburg openly declared for him. Ehrenbreitstein was starved to a surrender by the Bavarian general Werth, and the Austrians possessed themselves of all the works which were thrown up on the Rhine; France had lost in its contest with Spain, and the issue by no means answered the pompous expectations which were formed on commencing the war with the latter power; every place was lost which the Swedes possessed in the interior of Germany, and they still maintained only the principal towns in Pomerania. One single campaign recovered them from all these calamities, and the powerful diversion which the Duke of Weimar made on the Rhine at once gave a new turn to the war.

The quarrels between France and Sweden were at length laid aside, and the old treaty between these crowns was renewed at Hamburg with new advantages for the Swedes. In Hesse Cassel the politic Landgravine Amelia, having obtained the consent of the states, assumed the reins of government after the demise of her husband, and resolutely maintained her rights against the Emperor and the line of Darmstadt. The Swedish

Protestant party, zealously devoted to their religion, only awaited a favourable moment to declare themselves; they in the mean time succeeded by artfully prolonging a negotiation with the Emperor, to gain time until their private treaty was concluded with France, and the Duke of Weimar's victories had effected a fortunate change in the affairs of the Protestants; they then threw off the mask, and publicly renewed their old friendship with Sweden. The Duke of Weimar's success even encouraged the Palatine Prince to seek his fortune against the common enemy; with English gold he raised troops in Holland, formed a magazine at Meppen, and united in Westphalia with the Swedish troops. His magazine was in fact lost; his army was defeated by General Hatzfeld at Flotha; but his expedition occupied for a considerable time the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the Swedes in other quarters. New allies arose to join the Swedes, and it was sufficiently fortunate for them that they compelled Lower Saxony to embrace a neutrality.

Favoured by these important advantages, and reinforced by 14,000 men from Sweden and Livonia, Banner opened the campaign of the year 1638, with every expectation of success. The Imperialists, who had taken possession of Upper Pomerania and Mecklenburg, either abandoned their posts, or deserted in troops to the Swedish colours, to avoid that hunger which was their most formidable enemy in those exhausted countries; such repeated marching and quarters wasted the territory between the Elbe and the Oder, and Banner was under the necessity, to avoid having his army starved on its march, of

making a circuit from Lower Pomerania through Lower Saxony, and fell into the electorate of Saxony from Halberstadt: the impatience of the Lower Saxon states to rid themselves of such a guest, made them provide him with the necessary provisions, so that his troops had bread at Magdeburg, a country where hunger had already overcome men's disgust at human flesh.

He spread consternation among the Saxons by his approach; but it was not on that exhausted country, but upon the hereditary dominions of Austria that his designs were bent; the Duke of Weimar's victories encouraged him, and the prosperous state of the Austrian provinces excited his avarice. After he had beaten the Imperial general Salis at Elsterburg, annihilated the Saxon army near Chemnitz, and taken Pirna, he entered Bohemia with irresistible impetuosity, crossed the Elbe, threatened Prague, took Brandeis and Leitmeritz, defeated General Hofkirch with ten regiments, and spread terror and devastation throughout that defenceless kingdom; booty was all that was sought, and what could not be removed was destroyed. In order to convey away the new corn, the ears were cut off from the stalks, and the latter burnt; above a thousand castles, hamlets, and villages were laid in ashes, and a hundred were often seen in flames during one night. From Bohemia he extended his ravages to Silesia, and it was his intention to carry them into Austria and Moravia; to prevent this, General Hatzfeld was recalled from Westphalia, and Piccolomini from the Netherlands: the Archduke Leopold, brother to the Emperor, received the chief command, in order to repair the incapacity of his

predecessor Gallas, and restore the Imperial army to its former reputation.

The issue justified these new measures, and the campaign which the Swedes began in 1640, appeared to have taken an unfortunate turn for them; they were successively driven from all their posts in Bohemia, and anxious only to secure their plunder, they hastily retreated to the heights of Meissen. But they were pursued by the enemy through Saxony, and being beaten at Plauen, were obliged to retreat into Thuringia. From the summit of success, they were once more humbled only again to recover their former consideration; Banner's weak army, on the brink of destruction in its camp at Erfurt, suddenly recovered itself: the Dukes of Luneburg abandoned the treaty of Prague, and joined him with the troops which they had some time before led against him; Hesse Cassel sent reinforcements, and the Duke of Longueville supported him with the late Duke of Weimar's army. Once more superior in numbers to the Imperialists, Banner offered them battle at Saalfeld; but their general, Piccolomini, prudently avoided it, and occupied a position too strong to be forced. When the Bavarians at length separated from the Imperialists, and directed their march towards Franconia, Banner attempted an attack upon this divided corps; but his design was frustrated by the skill of the Bavarian general Mercy, and the near approach of the Imperialists. Both armies now entered the exhausted territory of Hesse, where they formed intrenched camps close to each other, until at length hunger and the severity of the winter compelled them to retire. Piccolomini took up

his winterquarters upon the rich banks of the Weser, but finding himself outflanked by Banner, he was obliged to abandon them and retreat into Franconia.

At this period a diet was held at Ratisbon, where deliberations took place concerning a peace. The presence of the Emperor, who sat as president in the Electoral College, the plurality of voices in favour of the Catholics, the great number of bishops, and the desertion of several Protestant states, inclined the transactions of this assembly to favour the Emperor, and deprived it of every claim to impartiality. The Protestants, not without reason, beheld it as a conspiracy of Austria and its creatures against them, and thought it expedient, as soon as possible, to dissolve such a diet.

Banner undertook that bold enterprise; his military reputation had already suffered by his retreat out of Bohemia, and required some fresh exploit to recover its former lustre. Without communicating his designs to any person, he left his quarters at Luneburg in the severest cold of the winter 1641, when the roads and rivers were frozen: accompanied by Marechal de Guebriant, who commanded the French and the Duke of Weimar's army, he penetrated through Thuringia and Voigtland, and appeared under the walls of Ratisbon before the diet was apprized of his approach. The consternation of that assembly was inconceivable, and all the deputies immediately prepared themselves for flight; the Emperor alone declared he would not forsake the town; and encouraged the rest by his example: to the misfortune

of the Swedes, a thaw came on, which rendered the Danube impassable, either by boats or a bridge, by reason of the large pieces of ice which were carried down the stream. Personally to insult the Emperor, Banner fired 500 cannon shots against the town, which, however, caused no great mischief. Disappointed in his scheme, he now resolved to penetrate into Bavaria and Moravia, which was defenceless, in order to procure a rich booty, and more comfortable winter-quarters for his troops; but no persuasions could prevail upon the French general to follow him; Guebriant feared a design was formed to remove Weimar's army so far from the Rhine as to be able to gain it over, or prevent its acting independently. He accordingly separated from Banner, and returned towards the Maine, by which the Swede saw himself exposed to the whole force of the Imperial army, which secretly assembled between Ratisbon and Ingolstadt, and advanced against him. He was now to begin a retreat in face of an enemy superior in cavalry, between rivers, woods, and hostile territories. He immediately entered to Forest, intending to retire through Bohemia and Saxony; but he was obliged to abandon three of his regiments at Neuburg. These held, during four entire days, the enemy at bay behind an old wall, and gained time for Banner to escape. He retreated near Egra to Annaberg: Piccolomini pursued him, by a shorter route, through Schlackenwald, and was only half an hour too late to seize the passes at Prignitz, and destroy the Swedish army. Guebriant again formed a junction with Banner's army, and both directed their march to Halberstadt,

after having in vain endeavoured to defend the river Sala against the Austrians.

Banner at length terminated his career at Halberstadt in May 1641, a victim to disappointment and vexation. He maintained with great renown, though with various success, the reputation of the Swedish arms in Germany, and showed himself, by a train of victories, to be worthy of his great master in the art of war. He was fertile in expedients, and formed, with impenetrable secrecy, designs, which he executed with boldness; greater in adversity than in good fortune, and never more formidable than when at the brink of destruction: but his military talents were tarnished with that unamiable disposition which but too often accompanies the soldier. Equally haughty in private life as at the head of his army, boisterous as his profession, and proud as a conqueror, he oppressed the German princes no less by his pride than by his contributions in their territories: after his warlike toils he regaled himself by the joys of the table, which he indulged to excess, and which brought him to an early grave. But though addicted to pleasure as much as Alexander or Mahomet II. he could in a moment forsake it to resume the dangers of his command; near 80,000 men fell in the many battles in which he was engaged, and 600 standards and colours which he took from the enemy and sent to Stockholm, were trophies of his victories. The loss of this celebrated general was immediately felt by the Swedes, and it was feared that such a man could not be replaced; the spirit of insubordination, retained within bounds by the great authority of Banner, awoke upon

his death; the officers with an alarming unanimity demanded their dismissal, and none of the four generals who shared the command after Banner could silence these discontents; discipline was at an end; increasing want, and the Imperial citations, daily diminished the forces; the French army showed little zeal; the Luneburgers forsook the Swedish colours after the Princes of the House of Brunswick, upon the death of Duke George, had formed a treaty with the Emperor; and at length even the Hessians quitted them, in order to seek better quarters in Westphalia. The enemy profited by these calamitous circumstances, and though defeated with loss in two pitched battles, succeeded in making a considerable progress in Lower Saxony.

At length appeared the new Swedish generalissimo with fresh troops and money. This was Torstenson, a pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and his most successful imitator, who had been his page during the Polish war. Although a martyr to the gout, and labouring under this most severe complaint, he displayed more activity than his enemy: under him the theatre of war was changed, and new maxims were adopted, which necessity required and the issue justified. Austria's territories had not yet felt the miseries which raged in the rest of Germany; it was Torstenson who first procured Austria that bitter experience.

In Silesia the enemy had gained considerable advantages over the Swedish general Stalhantsch, and drove him to Neumark; Torstenson, who joined the Swedish army in Luneburg, called him to his assistance, and in the year 1642,

marched through Brandenburg into Silesia; where the former, under the great Elector, began to maintain a neutrality. Glogau was taken by storm, without approaches or a breach; Francis Albert, Duke of Lauenburg, was defeated at Schweidnitz; on this occasion that general was shot through the body, Schweidnitz taken, and all Silesia upon the hither side of the Oder conquered. The Swedes now penetrated into Moravia, where no enemy of Austria had hitherto appeared, took Olmutz, and put even Vienna in consternation.

Meanwhile the Archduke Leopold and Piccolomini had assembled a superior force, which speedily drove the Swedish conquerors from Moravia, and, after a fruitless attempt upon Brieg, from all Silesia. Reinforced by Wrangel, the Swedes turned upon the enemy, and relieved Glogau; but they could neither bring the Imperialists to a battle, nor execute their own designs upon Bohemia. Torstenson now overran Lusatia, where, in presence of the enemy, he took Zittau, and in a short time directed his march towards the Elbe, which he passed at Torgau: he threatened Leipsic with a siege, after that city had, during ten years, experienced none of those miseries with which the war afflicted the rest of Germany.

Leopold and Piccolomini instantly hastened to relieve Leipsic, and Torstenson, to avoid being enclosed between the enemy's army and the town, advanced against the Austrians in order of battle. By an unaccountable fatality, both armies met exactly at the same spot upon which Gustavus Adolphus, eleven years before, had eternized his memory by a decisive victory, and

the former intrepidity encouraged the present combatants to equal it by a noble emulation. The Swedish generals Stalhantsch and Willenberg rushed with such impetuosity against the left wing of the Austrians, which had not as yet regularly formed, that their horse was put into confusion, and that division of the Imperial army was separated from the cavalry which covered it, and was routed: but the left of the Swedes was threatened with a similar fate, when the victorious right wing hastened to its assistance, took the enemy in flank and rear, and divided the Austrian lines. The infantry on both sides, after expending their ammunition, engaged in a furious conflict, until the Austrians, at length surrounded upon every side, were, after a contest of three hours, compelled to abandon the field. The generals of both armies did their utmost to rally their flying troops, and the Archduke Leopold was the first who came with his regiments to the attack, as well as the last who fled. This victory cost the Swedes above 3000 men, together with two of their best generals, Schlangen and Lillienhoeck; near 5000 of the Austrians remained dead upon the field, and an equal number were taken prisoners; their entire artillery, consisting of forty-six cannon, the silver plate and archives of the Archduke, fell into the conqueror's hands. Torstenson, disabled too much by his victory to pursue the enemy, advanced to Leipsic: the defeated army retired to Bohemia, where the dispersed regiments reassembled. The Archduke Leopold could not bear this defeat; and a regiment of cavalry, which by its early flight occasioned the disaster, particularly felt his indigna-

tion; he publicly at Raconitz, in presence of the army, declared it infamous, took away its horses, arms, and insignia, ordered its standards to be torn, condemned to death several of the officers, and decimated the private men.

Leipsic itself, which surrendered three weeks after, was the most brilliant consequence of this victory; the city was obliged to clothe the Swedish army anew, and a tax of 300,000 rixdollars was imposed upon the sovereign merchants who had their warehouses in the city, to redeem them from plunder. Torstenson advanced in the middle of winter against Freyberg, bid defiance to the inclemency of the season for several weeks before that town, and hoped by his perseverance to conquer the resolution of the garrison; but he only fruitlessly sacrificed his men, and the approach of the Imperial general Piccolomini compelled him to abandon his enterprise; he, however, regarded it as an advantage to have disturbed the enemy in their winter-quarters, and made them lose 3000 horses. He now turned towards the Oder, in order to reinforce himself by the garrisons of Silesia and Pomerania; but he suddenly returned to Bohemia, traversed that kingdom, and relieved Olmutz, which was threatened by the Imperialists. In his camp at Dobitzshau, two miles from Olmutz, he commanded all Moravia, raised heavy contributions, and made excursions as far as Vienna: it was in vain that the Emperor armed the nobility of Hungary to defend that province; these claimed their privileges, and refused to quit their native country; time was lost by negotiation, and the entire province was abandoned to the fury of the Swedes.

While Torstenson astonished Europe by his progress, the allied army had not remained inactive in another part of the Empire. The Hessians and the troops of Weimar had fallen into the electorate of Cologne, under Count Eberstein, in order to take up their winterquarters in that bishopric; to rid himself of those troublesome guests, the Elector called to his aid the Imperial general Hatzfeld, and assembled his own troops under General Lamboy. These the allies attacked at Kempen, in January 1642; and totally defeated them in a great battle, wherein 2000 were killed, and double that number taken prisoners. This important victory opened the entrance into the electorate, and the allies were not only able to maintain their winter-quarters there, but to draw from the country great supplies of men and horses.

Guebriant left the Hessians to defend their conquests upon the Lower Rhine against Hatzfeld, and advanced towards Thuringia, with a view to second the progress of Torstenson; but instead of joining the Swedes, he retired to the Maine and Rhine, from which he had too far removed. As the Bavarians under Mercy and John de Werth were arrived before him in the margraviate of Baden, he was under the necessity of wandering for several weeks in the open air, amid all the severity of the season, until he at length took up his winter-quarters in Brisgau after a disastrous expedition. In the ensuing summer he indeed occupied the Bavarian army in Suabia in such a manner that it could not relieve Thionville, which was besieged by the Prince of Condé; he was at length, however, driven into Alsace where he awaited a reinforcement.

The death of Cardinal Richelieu, which took place in 1642, and the subsequent change of the throne and of ministry, which the death of Lewis XIII. occasioned, withdrew the attention of the French for some time from the transactions in Germany, and caused their inactivity in the field. But Mazarin inherited Richelieu's power, his principles, and projects; he followed the plans of his predecessor with redoubled zeal, however the French subjects were to suffer for the political greatness of their nation. If Richelieu employed his principal force against Spain, Mazarin turned it against the Emperor; and the care with which he carried on the war, showed that he considered the German armies as the best shield of France. Immediately after the siege of Thionville he detached a considerable reinforcement to the assistance of Field-marshal Guebriant in Alsace; and in order to inspire his troops with the greater ardour, the famous conqueror at Rocroi, the Duke of Enguien, afterwards Prince of Condé, was placed at their head. Guebriant now felt himself sufficiently strong to appear again with reputation in Germany; he accordingly passed the Rhine with a view of procuring better winter-quarters in Suabia, and actually made himself master of Rothweil, where the Bavarian magazine fell into his hands. But this place cost more than it was worth, and was recovered more speedily than it had been taken; Guebriant received a wound in the arm, which the unskillfulness of his surgeon rendered mortal; and the greatness of his loss was perceived on the very day of his death.

The French army, visibly diminished by this

expedition in a severe season, had, after the capture of Rothweil, withdrawn to the neighbourhood of Duttlingen, where, without expecting an attack, they lay in great security. Meanwhile the enemy assembled a formidable force to prevent the French from approaching near Bavaria, and to save the country from their ravages. The Imperialists under Hatzfeld joined the Bavarians under Mercy; and even the Duke of Lorraine, who, during the whole course of this war, is found every where but in his own duchy, joined the combined armies with his troops. It was resolved to beat up the French quarters in Duttlingen and the neighbouring villages. This was during the war a very favourite species of expedition, and being commonly accompanied with confusion, cost the lives of more men than a regular battle. The French soldier upon this occasion was unaccustomed to the severity of the German winter, and being totally unprepared for such an undertaking, never thought of a surprise. John de Werth, who was esteemed a master in this species of warfare, and who had been lately exchanged for Gustavus Horn, commanded the attempt, and succeeded, contrary to every expectation.

The attack was made on a side where it was least expected, by reason of the woods and numerous hollow ways; and a violent snow which fell upon the same day (the 24th of November 1643) concealed the approach of the vanguard until it halted before Duttlingen. All the artillery without the place, together with the castle of Hemburg, was taken without resistance; Duttlingen itself was soon after surrounded by the

army, and its communication cut off with the adjacent villages. The French were vanquished without firing a cannon: their cavalry owed their safety to a speedy flight; their infantry were either cut in pieces or voluntarily laid down their arms. Near 2000 men were killed, and 7000, together with twentyfive staff-officers and ninety captains, surrendered as prisoners. This was, perhaps, the only victory in the whole war which made an equal impression upon the party which gained and that which lost*: both were Germans, and it was the French who disgraced themselves. The memory of that unfortunate day, which was renewed a hundred years later at Rossbach, was indeed erased by the subsequent exploits of a Condé and a Turenne; but the Germans thought they had acquired much, and indemnified themselves for all the miseries which French politics brought, by casting a reflection upon their intrepidity.

This defeat of the French was, however, very pernicious to the Swedes, as the Emperor's army could now act united, and their enemies were considerably increased. Torstenson had suddenly

* The victory at Rossbach excited as much joy among the Austrians, as among the Prussians who gained it. National pride could not refrain from exultation at the idea of 22,000 Prussians seeing 60,000 French advance while they were quietly cooking their dinners, and afterwards defeating them. Towards the conclusion of the battle a Prussian dragoon had made a French soldier prisoner, when he saw an Austrian cuirassier behind him, with his sword uplifted to cut him down: "Brother German," cried the Prussian, "leave me the Frenchman." — "Aye, take him," answered the Austrian, and galloped away.

Trans.

abandoned Moravia in September 1643, and retired to Silesia. The cause of this step was a secret, and the strange direction of his marches increased the general perplexity of men. From Silesia, after numberless circuits, he marched towards the Elbe, where the Austrians followed him as far as Lusatia. He laid a bridge over the Elbe at Torgau, and spread a report that he intended to penetrate through Meissen into the Upper Palatinate and Bavaria. He also, at Barby, pretended to pass the river, but meanwhile gradually retreated from the Elbe as far as Havelberg, where he astonished his troops by informing them that he was to lead them against the Danes in Holstein.

Christian IV. King of Denmark had long displayed his jealousy of the Swedes by the obstacles which he placed to the progress of their arms, the vexations which he laid upon their navigation in the Sound, the burdens which he imposed upon their commerce; and, by exceeding all bounds, at length excited their indignation. However dangerous it seemed to engage in a new war while the old was so oppressive, and while the Swedes sunk even under their victories, the desire of revenge and an old antipathy surmounted every consideration, and the embarrassment in which they found themselves was a new incentive to try their fortune against the Danes.

Matters were at length come to such extremity, that the war was prosecuted only to procure subsistence and labour for the troops, and they only contended for winter-quarters, which were more valued than a decisive victory. But

almost all the provinces of Germany were laid waste; they were destitute of provisions, of men, and horses—articles which Holstein possessed in abundance. If the army could even be recruited in this province, and the cavalry newly mounted the attempt was well repaid. It was of the utmost consequence to check the pernicious influence of Denmark at the commencement of the negotiation, to delay the peace itself, which seemed not to favour Sweden; and when an indemnification came to be debated, to increase its conquests, and endeavour to preserve them. The ill situation of Denmark justified still greater projects, if suddenly executed. In fact, the secret was so well kept in Stockholm, that the Danish minister had not the least suspicion of it; and neither France nor Holland was let into the scheme. The war was instantly commenced without a previous declaration, and Torstenson appeared in Holstein before hostilities were expected. The Swedes instantly overran the duchy, and made themselves masters of every strong place, Rensburg and Gluckstadt excepted. Another army broke into Schonen, which surrendered without resistance, and it was only the severity of the season which prevented the enemy from crossing the Lesser Baltic, and carrying the war into Fuhnen and Zealand. The Danish fleet was unsuccessful at Femern, and the King himself, who was on board, lost his right eye by a splinter. Cut off from all communication with his distant ally the Emperor, this king was on the point of seeing his dominions overrun by the Swedes, and of fulfilling an old prophecy attributed to the famous Tycho Brahe, viz. that Christian IV. should,

in the year 1643, wander in great misery from his dominions.

But the Emperor could not behold with indifference the Danes become subject to Sweden. Notwithstanding the difficulties attending so long a march through desolated provinces, he sent his general, Gallas, who, after Piccolomini's resignation obtained the supreme command anew, with an army into Holstein. Gallas accordingly appeared in that duchy, took Kiel, and hoped, after his junction with the Danes, to shut up the Swedish army in Jutland. At the same time the Hessians and the Swedish general Koenigsmark were occupied by Hatzfeld and the Bishop of Bremen, son of Christian IV. The latter was obliged to go to Saxony, by reason of an attack upon Meissen: but Torstenson penetrated through the pass between Schleswig and Stapelholm, advanced with his augmented army against Gallas, whom he drove along the Elbe as far as Bernburg, where the Imperialists intrenched themselves. Torstenson passed the Sala; and took such a position in rear of the enemy as cut off their communications with Saxony and Bobemia. Hunger now began to destroy them in great multitudes; nor did their retreat to Magdeburg remedy their desperate situation. The cavalry, which endeavoured to effect its escape to Silesia, was overtaken and totally dispersed at Juterbock, while the rest of the army, after a vain attempt to fight its way through the Swedes, was almost wholly destroyed near Magdeburg. A few thousand men, and the reputation of being a consummate master in the art of ruining an army, was all that Gallas brought back of his great force. After this un-

fortunate attempt to relieve him, the King of Denmark sued for a peace, which he accordingly obtained at Bremseboor, in the year 1645, under very hard conditions.

Torstenson closely pursued his victory. While his inferior generals Lillienstern threatened Saxony, and Koenigsmark subdued all Bremen, he, at the head of 16,000 men and eighty pieces of cannon, broke into Bohemia, and once more endeavoured to remove the seat of war into the hereditary dominions of Austria. Ferdinand, upon receiving intelligence of this, repaired in person to Prague, in order, by his presence, to encourage his subjects; and as a skilful general was so much wanted, and so little harmony reigned among the numerous commanders, he could the more easily assist their operations by being so near the scene. In consequence of his orders Hatzfeld assembled the whole force of Austria and Bavaria, and, contrary to his opinion and desire, formed the Emperor's last army in order of battle, opposite the approaching enemy at Iankowitz, on the 24th of February 1645. Ferdinand depended upon his cavalry, which was 3000 stronger than that of the Swedes, and still more upon the promise of the Virgin Mary, who had appeared to him in a dream, and given the strongest assurances of a complete victory.

Torstenson, who never considered the number of his enemy, was by no means intimidated by their superiority. On the first attack, the left wing, which the general of the League, Goetz, had entangled in a very disadvantageous situation among dikes and thickets, was totally routed, the general himself with the greater part of his

men killed, and almost all the ammunition of the army taken. This unfortunate commencement decided the fate of the day. The Swedes, continually advancing, gained some important heights, and at the end of a bloody contest which lasted eight hours, after a vigorous attack of the Imperial cavalry, and a brave resistance of the infantry, they remained masters of the field. Two thousand Austrians were killed upon the spot, and Hatzfeld with 3000 of his men were taken prisoners. Thus did the Emperor in one day lose his best general and his last army.

This victory at Iankowitz at once exposed to the enemy all the states of Austria. Ferdinand hastily fled to Vienna, in order to provide for its safety, and save his family and his treasure. In a short time the Swedes broke into Moravia and Austria with great impetuosity. After they had conquered almost all Moravia, invested Brunn, and possessed themselves of every strong hold as far as the Danube, and at length taken the intrenchments at the Wolf's Bridge near Vienna, they appeared before that capital; and the care which they took to fortify their conquests promised no short visit. After a long and destructive circuit through the different provinces of the German Empire, the war at length returned to where it commenced, and the thunder of the Swedish artillery reminded the inhabitants of Vienna of those balls which twenty-seven years before the Bohemian rebels fired against the Imperial residence. Former scenes were also renewed. Bethlen Gabor's successor, Ragotzy, was invited by Torstenson to his aid, as his predecessor had been by the rebellious Bohemians. He

immediately overran Upper Hungary with his troops, and his junction with the Swedes was daily apprehended. The Elector of Saxony, driven to necessity by the Swedes taking up their quarters in his territories, and abandoned by the Emperor, who, after the defeat at Iankowitz, was unable to defend himself, at length embraced the only expedient which remained, and concluded with the Swedes a cessation of hostilities which was renewable every year. The Emperor thus lost an ally while an enemy entered his territories, his armies were going to decay, and his confederates were defeated in the other extremity of Germany. The French had effaced the shame of their defeat at Duttlingen by a brilliant campaign, and occupied the whole force of Bavaria on the Rhine and in Suabia. Reinforced by troops from France, which Turenne, who had already gained renown by his victories in Italy, brought to the Duke of Enguien, the French appeared before Freyburg on the 3d of August 1644; that town having been shortly before taken by Mercy, and covered by him with his whole army strongly intrenched. But all the impetuosity of the French failed against the firmness of the Bavarians; and the Duke of Enguien was at length compelled to retire, after an useless sacrifice of 6000 of his men. Mazarin shed tears on hearing this great loss, which the heart of Condé, callous to every passion but that of glory, little valued: "*The strumpets of Paris*", he was heard to say, "*will supply the loss in one night*". Nevertheless the Bavarians were so exhausted by this murderous battle, that they were not in a condition to relieve Austria, nor even defend

the banks of the Rhine. Spire, Worms, and Manheim surrendered; and the strong fortress of Philipsburg was taken by famine. Even Mayence hastened by a timely surrender to disarm the conquerors.

Austria and Moravia were saved from Torstenson as they had already been from the Bohemians. Ragotzy had advanced at the head of 25,000 of his troops, near the Swedish camp; but these wild undisciplined hordes only ravaged the country, and caused a great want of provisions in the army, instead of assisting Torstenson by any vigorous enterprise. To render the Emperor anxious for his revenues, and the subjects for their property, was Ragotzy's design, as it had been that of Bethlen Gabor; and each returned home after obtaining his ends. Ferdinand granted the barbarian whatever conditions he demanded, and saved himself, by a small sacrifice of territory, from the indignation of that formidable enemy.

The principal force of the Swedes had, in the mean time, greatly exhausted itself in a tedious encampment before Brunn. Torstenson, who commanded, exhausted, during four entire months, his whole system of attack. The defence equalled the attack, and despair augmented the resolution of the Governor de Souches, a Swedish deserter who expected no mercy. The ravages which were made by sickness, want, and hardship, the usual consequences of a tedious encampment, together with the departure of the Transylvanians, at length compelled the Swedish general to raise the siege. All the passes towards the Danube were occupied, but, as his army was diminished by hunger and sickness, he relinquished

his plan of operations against Austria and Moravia, and contented himself with leaving garrisons in the strong places he had taken, in order to maintain the entry into both those provinces, and marched towards Bohemia, where he was followed by the Imperialists under the Archduke Leopold. Such places as he had not recovered were taken after his departure by the Austrian general Bucheim, so that the following year the frontiers of Austria were fully delivered from the enemy, and Vienna, which trembled for its safety, was relieved from its consternation. Even in Bohemia and Silesia the Swedes only maintained themselves with various success, and traversed both countries without being able to preserve a footing in them. But if Torstenson's designs were not accompanied with all the success which they promised in the commencement, they had the most important consequences for the Swedish party. Denmark was compelled to a peace, Saxony to a neutrality; the Emperor was brought to greater concessions; France became more complaisant, and the behaviour of Sweden towards both these powers was more bold and circumspect. Having performed his duty in the most brilliant manner, the general, crowned with laurels, returned to the station of a private man, and sought by retirement to recover his health.

The Emperor, after Torstenson's retreat, saw himself secured from an irruption into Bohemia; but a new danger soon approached from Suabia and Bavaria. Turenne, who had divided his force from Condé, was, in 1645, near Mergentheim, totally defeated by Mercy, and the victorious Bavarians entered Hesse Cassel under their intre-

pid leader. But Condé hastened with considerable succours from Alsace, Koenigsmark from Moravia, and the Hessians from the Rhine, to recruit the defeated army, and the Bavarians were in their turn compelled to retreat to the extremity of Suabia. They posted themselves at Allersheim, near Nordlingen, in order to cover the confines of Bavaria; but the impetuosity of Condé was checked by no obstacle; he led on his troops against the enemy's intrenchments, and a bloody battle ensued, which the heroic resistance of the Bavarians rendered the most obstinate and murderous, and at length, by the death of the great Mercy*, the courage of Turenne, and the firmness of the Hessians, terminated in favour of the allies. But this second barbarous sacrifice of men had little effect either upon the progress of the war or the negotiations for peace; the French army, diminished by such an obstinate battle, was still more so by the departure of the Hes-

* This was the man upon whose tomb the beautiful motto, so much celebrated by Voltaire and other modern writers, was engraved:

Siste viator, heroem calcas!

Stop, traveller, you tread on a hero!

He was one of the most illustrious of modern generals; nothing could be a greater proof of it than his beating the celebrated Turenne. Had he not, while giving his orders from a steeple in the village which was set on fire, been unfortunately killed by a random shot, he would, upon this occasion, have certainly maintained the field of battle. Condé was wounded in the arm, and the Bavarians made a brilliant retreat with seventy colours they had taken from the enemy. Turenne and Condé had the respect to visit the place of his interment. *Trans.*

sians; and the Archduke Leopold brought so many Imperial reinforcements to the Bavarians, that Turenne was immediately obliged to retire over the Rhine.

The retreat of the French now enabled the enemy to turn his entire force against the Swedes in Bohemia. Wrangel, a worthy successor of Banner and Torstenson, had obtained the chief command of the Swedish army in 1646, which, besides Koenigsmark's flying corps, and the different garrisons dispersed through the Empire, amounted to 8000 horse and 15,000 foot. After the Archduke Leopold had reinforced his army of 24,000 men with twelve regiments of Bavarian cavalry and eighteen of infantry, he advanced against Wrangel, and expected to overpower him with his superior force before Koenigsmark could join him, or the French make a diversion. But the Swede did not await him, and he hastened through Upper Saxony to the Weser, where he took Hoexter and Paderborn: from thence he marched to Hesse Cassel, in order to join Turenne, and in his camp at Wetzlar was joined by the flying corps of Koenigsmark. But Turenne, restrained by the instructions of Mazarin, who became jealous of the martial prowess and increasing power of the Swedes, excused himself from the pressing necessity of defending the frontiers of France towards the Netherlands, since the Dutch did not make the diversion they had promised. But as Wrangel persisted in his just demands, and as a further refusal would have excited a distrust on the part of the Swedes, and perhaps have led them to conclude a private treaty with the Emperor, Turenne at length re-

ceived the desired orders to join the Swedish army.

The junction took place at Giessen, and they now felt themselves in sufficient strength to oppose the enemy. The latter had followed the Swedes to Hesse, where they endeavoured to intercept the convoys, and to prevent their junction with Turenne; both these designs failed, and the Imperialists now saw themselves cut off from the Maine, and reduced to great distress by the loss of their magazines. Wrangel took advantage of their distress, in order to execute a plan which was intended to give the war another turn; he had also adopted the maxim of his predecessors, to carry the war into the Austrian territories; but discouraged by the ill success of Torstenson's enterprise, he expected to attain his ends by a safer method. He accordingly determined to follow the course of the Danube, and to advance against the frontiers of Austria from the centre of Bavaria: a similar plan had formerly been laid by Gustavus Adolphus, but which could not be executed, having been suddenly called away from his victorious progress by Wallenstein's army, and the danger which threatened Saxony. His footsteps were pursued by the Duke of Weimar, who, more fortunate than Gustavus Adolphus, had carried his victorious arms between the Iser and the Inn; but he was also compelled to retire by the approach of his numerous enemies. Wrangel now hoped to be able to accomplish this object, as the Imperial-Bavarian armies were far in his rear on the river Lahn, and could only arrive in Bavaria by a very long march through Franconia and the Upper Palatinate: he suddenly

marched towards the Danube, defeated a body of Bavarians near Donauwerth, and passed that river, as also the Lech without opposition; but by fruitlessly laying siege to Augsburg, he gained time for the Imperialists not only to relieve that city, but even to repulse him as far as Lauingen. But while, in order to remove the seat of war from Bavaria, the enemy turned towards Suabia, he took the opportunity to repass the Lech, which was defenceless, and maintained it against the Imperialists. Bavaria now lay exposed; French and Swedes immediately overran it, and indemnified themselves for all their past dangers by the most cruel ravages; the arrival of the Imperial-Bavarian armies, which at length passed the Lech at Thierhaupten, only augmented the miseries of a country which was indiscriminately plundered by friends and enemies.

It was now, for the first time, that the firmness of Maximilian began to abate, after having, during twenty-eight years, braved every calamity. Ferdinand II. his school-fellow at Ingolstadt, and the companion of his youth, was no more; and with the death of that friend and benefactor, his attachment was in a great measure withdrawn from Austria. Private friendship and gratitude had attached him to the father; state interest alone could connect him with the son, to whom he was a stranger.

It was by political considerations that French duplicity now sought to detach him from the alliance of Austria, and prevailed upon him to lay down his arms. It was not without a great design that Mazarin concealed his jealousy of the increasing power of the Swedes, and permit-

ted the French to accompany them to Bavaria. That country was destined to experience all the miseries of war, in order to overcome the Elector's firmness, and to deprive the Emperor of his most powerful ally. Brandenburg had, under its great Elector, embraced a neutrality; Saxony was compelled to the same step; the Spaniards were forced, by a war with France, to relinquish every share in that of Germany; Denmark had concluded a peace, and Poland prolonged its cessation of hostilities. If the Elector of Bavaria could be detached from the alliance of Austria, the Emperor was exposed to inevitable destruction.

Ferdinand III. saw his danger, and left no means untried to avert the storm; but the Elector had been persuaded that the Spaniards alone prevailed upon the Emperor to oppose the peace. Maximilian hated the Spaniards mortally, because they had resisted his attempt to procure the Palatinate; it was by no means his intention to expose himself to ruin for so ungrateful a power, and he thought he should sufficiently fulfil his duty to the Emperor by embracing a neutral system.

The deputies of the three crowns, and of Bavaria, assembled at Ulm, in order to conclude a cessation of hostilities. The instructions of the Austrian ambassador, however, soon showed that it was not the Emperor's intention to bring the congress to a pacific conclusion: the Swedes, who had every thing to hope from a continuance of the war, were not inclined to bear unfavourable conditions; they were conqueror and still the Emperor seemed disposed to dictate to them. In the first transports of indignation, their deputies

would have left the congress if the French had not had recourse to threats.

After the Elector of Bavaria's good intentions had failed to conclude a peace for the Emperor, he thought it time to provide for himself; whatever might be his sacrifices, he considered it his duty to abandon the war. He agreed that the Swedes should extend their quarters in Suabia and Franconia, and confined his own to Bavaria and the Palatinate; his conquests in Suabia were exchanged for those which the Swedes had made in Bavaria: Cologne and Hesse Cassel were also included in this cessation of hostilities. After the conclusion of this treaty, upon the 14th of March 1647, the French and Swedes retired to separate winterquarters, the former in the duchy of Wirtemberg, and the latter in Upper Suabia, near the lake of Bode. At the northern extremity of that lake, and the southern frontier of Suabia, the Austrian town of Bregentz defied every attack by its steep and narrow passes; and the neighbouring people had, with their property, taken refuge in it from all quarters for security. The probability of a rich booty, and the advantage of obtaining a pass into Tirol, Switzerland, and Italy, determined the Swedish general to venture an attack upon this important place; he succeeded, although six thousand peasants attempted to defend the pass against him. In the mean time Turenne had, according to agreement, marched towards Wirtemberg, where he forced the Landgrave of Darmstadt and the Elector of Mayence to embrace a neutrality after the example of Bavaria.

French policy now seemed to have obtained its ends in withdrawing from the Emperor all his allies, and compelling him to a peace. That once so powerful prince had only an army of 12,000 men remaining; and as he had lost his best generals, he was compelled to intrust the command of these to a Calvinist, Melander, a deserter from the Hessians. But by a fortune peculiar to this war, the events of which often deceived the calculations of policy, the apparently ruined force of Austria reassumed a dangerous superiority. The jealousy of France towards the Swedes did not permit it to suffer the latter entirely to ruin the Emperor and obtain a footing in the German Empire, which might prove fatal to the French themselves; no advantage was therefore taken of the distress of Austria; and Turenne's army, separating from that of Wrangel marched to the borders of the Netherlands. Wrangel endeavoured, after he had entered Franconia, where he took Schweinfurt, and enrolled its Imperial garrison among his troops, to penetrate into Bohemia, and had laid siege to Egra, the key to that kingdom. To relieve that town, the Emperor in person advanced with his last army; but being obliged to make a considerable circuit, in order to spare the estates of the president of the council of war, the march was prolonged, and before he arrived, Egra was already taken. Both armies approached so close to each other, that a decisive battle was expected, especially as the Imperialists were the more numerous; but the latter contented themselves with harassing the Swedes by hunger, skirmishes, and fatiguing marches, until the Emperor had attain-

ed his wishes by the negotiations which he opened with Bavaria.

The neutrality of Bavaria inflicted a wound which the court of Vienna could never pardon, and which, after fruitless endeavours to prevent, it resolved, if possible, to turn to advantage. A multitude of Bavarian officers were upon this occasion deprived of employment, and consequently absolved from their allegiance; even the brave General de Werth was among the discontented, and formed a plot to deliver the Bavarian army to the Emperor, who encouraged him to that step. Ferdinand was not ashamed to favour this piece of treachery against his father's most faithful ally; he formally issued a proclamation, recalling the Bavarian troops from their allegiance, and reminding them that they belonged to the Empire, and were only raised by the Elector by Imperial authority. Fortunately for Maximilian, he discovered the conspiracy in sufficient time to be able, by the most vigorous efforts, to impede its execution.

Such faithless conduct might have justified reprisals; but Maximilian was too old a statesman to listen to the voice of passion where policy alone was concerned. He had not procured by the truce the advantages which he expected; so far from accelerating a peace, his neutrality had a pernicious influence upon the negotiations at Munster and Osnabruck, where the allied powers increased their demands, conscious of their superiority. The French and Swedes were removed from Bavaria; but by losing his quarters in Suabia, he saw himself obliged to maintain his troops at home; if he did not altogether disband them,

and expose his dominions at such a critical conjuncture to every invader. Before he embraced either of those dangerous alternatives, he resolved to break the neutrality, and once more take up arms.

This resolution, and the immediate succour which he sent the Emperor, compelled Wrangel to evacuate Bohemia. He retired through Thuringia towards Westphalia and Luneburg, in order to join the French forces under Turenne, and was followed by the Imperial-Bavarian army under Melander and Gronsfeld as far as the Weser. His ruin was inevitable if overtaken by the enemy before he had formed a junction with Turenne; but the Swedes were saved upon this occasion as the Emperor had formerly been; the Court listened to the maxims of sound policy according as it beheld the approach of peace; the Elector of Bavaria could not safely appear to contribute so much to the superiority of the Emperor, and this circumstance hastened the peace. A change of fortune might delay the treaty for several years, and perhaps postpone the tranquillity of all Europe; if France retained Sweden within bounds, the Elector of Bavaria followed that example towards the Emperor, and by prudently withholding his assistance, remained master of the fate of Austria. The power of the Emperor threatened at once to obtain a dangerous superiority, when Maximilian suddenly refused to pursue the Swedes; he also feared the reprisals of France, which threatened to send all Turenne's army against him if he attempted to pass the Weser.

Melander, prevented by the Bavarians from pursuing Wrangel further, marched through Jena

and Erfurt against Hesse Cassel, and now appeared as a dangerous enemy in a country which he had once defended. If it was vengeance which excited him to render that country the scene of devastation, he indulged his passion to the utmost. The miseries of that unhappy country became excessive. But the ravager had soon occasion to repent of his substituting revenge for prudence: his army diminished in the exhausted country of Hesse, while Wrangel collected fresh forces in Luneburg. and new mounted his cavalry. Too weak to maintain his quarters when the Swedish general opened the campaign in the winter of 1648, and advanced towards Cassel, he was constrained with disgrace to retire, and seek safety upon the banks of the Danube.

France had once more deceived the Swedes; and Turenne's army, notwithstanding Wrangel's remonstrances, retired towards the Rhine: the Swedish general resented this by ordering the cavalry of Weimar to join him, who had left the French service, and by that step increased the jealousy of France. At length Turenne obtained permission to join the Swedes, and the united armies opened the last campaign of this war. They pursued Melander to the Danube, threw supplies into Egra, which was then besieged by the Imperialists, and beat the Imperial-Bavarian army upon the side of the Danube at Susmarshausen. Melander in this action was mortally wounded, and Gronsfield posted himself upon the other side of the Lech, in order to prevent the enemy's entrance into Bavaria.

But Gronsfield was not more fortunate than Tilly, who had sacrificed his life in this same

post for the preservation of Bavaria. Wrangel and Turenne chose the same spot for passing the river which was distinguished by the victory of Gustavus Adolphus, and succeeded by the advantages which had favoured the latter; Bavaria was once more overrun, and the breach of the treaty punished by the utmost severity towards the Bavarians. Maximilian took refuge in Saltzburg, while the Swedes passed the Iser as far as the Inn; a violent rain, which in a few days swelled this otherwise inconsiderable river to an uncommon height, once more saved Austria from the impending danger; the enemy attempted ten different times to lay a bridge of boats over the Inn, and as often failed. Never were the Catholics in such consternation as upon the present occasion, when the enemy was in the centre of Bavaria, and they no longer possessed a general who could be compared to a Turenne, a Wrangel, or a Koenigsmark. At length the brave Piccolomini arrived from the Netherlands to assume the command of the feeble remains of the Imperialists; the ravages which the allies committed in Bavaria had rendered it impossible for them to subsist longer in that country, and obliged them to retire to the Upper Palatinate, where the intelligence of peace put an end to their future operations.

Koenigsmark advanced with a flying corps towards Bohemia, where Ernest Odovalsky, a captain of cavalry, who had resigned after having been disabled in the Imperial service without receiving any pension, laid before him a plan to surprise the smaller part of Prague. Koenigsmark succeeded in this attempt, and thereby obtained the

honour of having closed the thirty years war by the last memorable action. This decisive blow, which at length overcame the Emperor's irresolution, only cost the Swedes one man; the old town, the greater half of which is divided by the river Moldaw from the new, occupied by its resistance the Count Palatine Charles Gustavus, the successor of Christina to the throne, who had arrived with fresh troops from Sweden when the entire Swedish army in Bohemia and Silesia appeared before its walls. The approach of winter at length compelled the besiegers to go into quarters, where they received intelligence that the peace was signed on the 24th of October at Munster and Osnabruck.

The colossal labour of concluding this famous, ever memorable, and holy treaty, which had to combat with the greatest apparent obstacles, which was to unite the most opposite interests; the concatenation of circumstances which must have combined to terminate this painful and laborious effort of policy; what it cost to open the negotiations amid the alternate vicissitudes of a bloody war, and conclude them under every disadvantage; what the conditions were of a peace which terminated a bloody war of thirty years, and the influence which it had upon the general system of European policy: these must be left to another pen and a more convenient opportunity. The limits are already surpassed which the author of the present sketch had originally proposed; and however great the undertaking was to relate the history of the war, that of the peace of Westphalia is one of no less importance. The abridgment of such an event could not here be given

with the necessary brevity, without reducing to a skeleton the most interesting and characteristic monument of human wisdom and passions, and thereby depriving it of the attention of the public for which I write, and of which I now respectfully take my leave.



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